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Bodies in Transit: Violence and Exile in Southern Cone Art and Literature

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

by

Yunuen Gómez Ocampo

Committee in charge:

Professor Leo Cabranes-Grant, Chair

Professor Aníbal González Pérez

Professor Suzanne Jill Levine

Professor Sara Poot-Herrera

September 2020

The dissertation of Yunuen Gómez Ocampo is approved.

_____

Aníbal González Pérez

_____

Suzanne Jill Levine

_____

Sara Poot-Herrera

_____

Leo Cabranes-Grant, Committee Chair

September 2020

Bodies in Transit: Violence and Exile in Southern Cone Art and Literature

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by

Yunuen Gómez Ocampo

For my family. Nothing would be possible without your support.

For Soledad, Salustia, Ema, Lucina, Pilar, Lola and Kaylal.
My roots, my present, my future.

For Lola and Kaylal in particular, my infinite thanks for your loving patience, for accompanying me each step of the way, for being by my side during the hardest moments and for celebrating every little achievement with me. You make everything possible, even completing this manuscript and filing the dissertation during the pandemic.

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I am especially grateful to Leo Cabranes-Grant for his guidance and valuable suggestions. He is a generous human being, a dedicated professor, and a patient mentor. During his graduate seminars he infected me with his passion for learning about the world, and he has assisted me during the writing of this dissertation with his intelligent, critical and invaluable comments. I would also like to express my deepest appreciation to the members of my doctoral committee for their contributions to the discussion that shaped my thinking during my years as doctoral student: to Jill Levine for her advice during her seminars on Southern Cone literature and for the editing provided in her literary translation seminars that enabled me to refine my analysis of the poetry of Cristina Peri Rossi; to Sara Poot Herrera for her constant support and intellectual stimulus, for having shared her time so generously in conversations that have guided me and helped me reflect on different literary and cultural issues across our continent; and to Aníbal González Pérez for his careful reading and enriching comments which gave me the opportunity to question myself during the writing of this dissertation. He has been an undeniable intellectual inspiration to me in my academic training.

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VITA OF YUNUEN GÓMEZ OCAMPO
September 2020

EDUCATION

2020 **Doctor of Philosophy in Hispanic Languages and Literatures**
University of California, Santa Barbara – Department of Spanish and Portuguese. CA, USA
Dissertation: "Bodies in Transit. Love, Violence, Memory and Exile in Southern Cone Arts and Literatures"
Dissertation Chair: Dr. Leo Cabranes-Grant
Committee members: Dr. Aníbal González-Pérez, Dr. Suzanne Jill Levine, and Dr. Sara Poot-Herrera

2012 **Master of Arts in Publishing** (Suma Cum Laude)
Autonomous University of Morelos State. Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico
Thesis: "Edición anotada de La vida entera (1969), de Virgilio Piñera" (Anotated edition of The Entire Life)
Thesis Chair: Dr. Irene Fenoglio Limón

2005 **Bachelor of Arts in Literature**
Autonomous University of Morelos State. Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico
Thesis: "Su calzada, su isla. El primer poemario de Eliseo Diego en el camino de la tradición lírica cubana" ("His road, his island. Eliseo Diego's first book of poems as part of the Cuban lyrical poetry canon)
Thesis Chair: Dr. Federico Álvarez Arregui

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2019 – 2020 Graduate Research Assistant for The Global Latinidades Project. Advisor: Ben Olguin.

2016 – 2019 Doctoral dissertation research. Analysis of the concept of the body in fictional representations within the context of exile in Southern Cone writers and artists. Advisor: Dr. Leo Cabranes-Grant

2017 Graduate Dissertation Fellow. Archive research at national libraries, museums and private collections in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay

2017 Graduate Research Fellow for Mellichamp 21st Century Global Dynamics program on violence against women and human rights. University of California, Santa Barbara. Advisor: Dr. Alison Brysk

2011 – 2012 CONACYT fellow. Philological research, essay and notes on *La vida entera* (1969), by Cuban poet Virgilio Piñera. Autonomous University of Morelos State. Advisor: Dr. Irene Fenoglio Limón

2011 Graduate Assistant at Hemeroteca Nacional de México. Research group Seminario de Edición Crítica de Textos. Advisor: Dr. Belem Clark

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

2015 – 2019 Full Doctoral Fellowship from University of California Institute for Mexico and the United States & Mexican National Council on Science and Technology

2015 – 2019 Complementary Grant to pursue Graduate Studies from Mexican Secretariat of Education
2018 Dissertation Write-In Grant – UC Santa Barbara Graduate Student Resource Center
2017 Mellichamp 21st Century Global Dynamics Graduate Research Fellowship, UC Santa Barbara
2017 UC Santa Barbara Graduate Division Dissertation Fellowship ($7,500)
2011 – 2012 Full Master's Degree Fellowship from Mexican National Council on Science and Technology

RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS

(Book) Virgilio Piñera, *La vida entera*, introduction, edition and notes by Yunuen Gómez Ocampo. México: Lectorum, 2012.
(Journal article) Gómez Ocampo, Yunuen. "La traición como una síntesis dialéctica negativa en *El apando* de José Revueltas y Felipe Cazals". *iMex. México Interdisciplinario. Interdisciplinary Mexico*, 5.10 (2016): 117-129.
(*Preparing manuscript)* "Fluid Bodies, Fluid Stages: The Borderlands in *Description of a Shipwreck.*"
(*Preparing manuscript)* "Cuerpos castigados. Resistir el terror, la cárcel y el exilio en *El beso de la mujer araña* y *Pubis Angelical*" ("Battered Bodies: Resisting Terror, Prison and Exile in *Kiss of the Spider Woman* and *Angelical Pubis*")
(*Preparing manuscript*) "Cuerpos Perseguidos. El Viaje en Mar en *Descripción de un Naufragio*, de Cristina Peri Rossi".

Additional Publishing Experience

2020 *Editorial* assistant for "Spain and the Idea of Europe in the Supra-Chicanx Imagination: Towards a Global Latinidades Paradigm," by Ben V. Olguin. *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, forthcoming.
2020 *Research* and editorial assistant for *Violentologies: Violence, Identity and Ideology in Latina/o Literature*, by Ben Olguin. Oxford University Press, forthcoming.
2017 Editorial assistant for *Contracting Human Rights: Crisis, Accountability, and Opportunity*, by Alison Brysk & Michael Stohl eds. Edward Elgar Publishing. Cheltenham, UK, 2018. (ISBN: 978-1-78811-232-1 eISBN: 978-1-78811-233-8)
2017 Research and editorial assistant for *The Struggle for Freedom from Fear: Contesting Violence against Women at the Frontiers of Globalization*, by Alison Brysk. Oxford University Press. New York, 2018. (ISBN: 978-0-19090-152-3)
2016 – 2017 Specialized services in editing, copy editing and proofreading journal articles of public health and sociomedical sciences in English for *Salud Pública de México* (quarterly scientific journal).
2014 – 2017 Editor in Chief for *Estudios del Discurso*, semiannual scientific journal on discourse analysis. Lenguaje y Literatura, research group affiliated to Autonomous University of Morelos State, Mexico (ISSN 2448-4857)

2012 – 2014 National Institute of Public Health. Specialized services in editing, copy editing and proofreading academic texts of public health and sociomedical sciences (quarterly scientific journal and academic books).

2013 – 2014 Editorial director for *Programación Matemática y Software*, quarterly journal. Optimización y Software (academic research group affiliated to Research Center in Engineering and Applied Sciences, Autonomous University of Morelos State, Mexico)

2013 Editorial director process for *Acta Agrícola y Pecuaria*, quarterly scientific journal, number 1, issue 1. (Autonomous University of Morelos State, Mexico)

2011 Regional Center of Multidisciplinary Researches, UNAM, proofreading of academic book: *El movimento ambientalista de Quintana Roo*, by Magalí Daltabuit Godás, and Carlos A. Meade de la Cueva. Cuernavaca: UNAM/CRIM, 2012. (ISBN: 978-607-02-2844-5)

2011 Regional Center of Multidisciplinary Researches, UNAM, editing, copy editing and proofreading academic book: *Retos de la investigación del agua en México*, coordinated by Ursula Oswald Spring. Cuernavaca: UNAM, 2011. (ISBN: ISBN 978-3-926979-81-0)

2011 Lenguaje y Literatura: Aproximaciones Críticas al Texto, research group, copy editing the academic book: *Análisis del discurso: estrategias y propuestas de lectura*, coordinated by Irene Fenoglio, Lucille Herrasti, Agustín Rivero. UAEM/Bonilla Artigas Editores. Cuernavaca, México, 2012. (ISBN: 978-607-7771-57-9)

2010 Copy editor and proofreader of humanities textbooks for Mc GrawHill Interamericana. Mexico City, Mexico

2010 Copy editor and proofreader of social sciences academic books for Grupo Editorial Miguel Ángel Porrúa. Mexico City, Mexico

2009 – 2011 Editorial Fund, Institute of Culture of Morelos (actually: Secretary for Culture), editing and copy editing of literature works, and coordinating a program for promoting reading in Morelos state, Mexico

2009 – 2010 *Diario de Morelos* (local newspaper), editor, copy editor and proofreader, cultural journalist

ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS (SELECT)

Conference Papers

2020 "Cuerpos perseguidos. El viaje en mar en *Descripción de un naufragio*, de Cristina Peri Rossi". XIV Jornadas Andinas de Literatura Latinoamericana, JALLA UNAM at Mexico City.

2019 "Viaje al exilio: repensando el cuerpo en *Libro de navíos y borrascas* de Daniel Moyano". III Symposium Southern Cone Studies of the Latin American Studies Association "Bodies in Danger: Minorities and migrants" at Buenos Aires, Argentina

2019 "1939, 1973: signos políticos del exilio en el lienzo de José Balmes". University of California, Santa Barbara. XIX Hispanic and Lusophone Conference "Silenced Voices"

2019 "Dos exilios: memoria y testimonio en la pintura de José Balmes". Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanos y del Caribe, Coloquio

Internacional “80 Aniversario del Exilio Republicano Español. Experiencias e Improntas en América Latina y el Caribe” at La Habana, Cuba

2019 “Marichuy, con la dignidad rebelde. Cosmopolítica indígena en tiempos electorales”. Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán & UC-Mexicanistas. XI Congreso Internacional de Literatura “Después de los despueses: El pasado en el futuro de la cultura mexicana” at Mérida, México

2018 “Love is a haven of rest and hope to cope exile in *Descripción de un naufragio*”. Latin American Studies Association XXXVI International Congress at Barcelona, Spain

2018 “Estela Hernández: cosmogonía indígena abriendo espacios de memoria, libertad y resistencia”. Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán & UC-Mexicanistas. Congreso Internacional de Literatura “Box Populi, Vox Dei” at Mérida, México

2017 “Fluid Bodies in Fluid Stages”. National Women's Studies Association. 2017 Annual Conference “40 Years After Combahee” at Baltimore, USA

2016 “Cuerpos femeninos al margen del papel y del lienzo en Maria-Mercè Marçal y Frida Kahlo”. University of California, Santa Barbara & UC-Mexicanistas. XX Colloquium on Mexican Literature “Canon Perdido” at Mérida, México

2016 “La ciudad y el migrante en ‘Chicago’ de Juan Villoro”. Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán & UC-Mexicanistas. Congreso Internacional de Literatura “Lo busco, lo busco y no lo busco. De búsquedas y encuentros en la cultura mexicana” at Mérida, México

2016 “El cuerpo castigado. Signos de represión política en *El beso de la mujer araña* y *Pubis angelical* de Manuel Puig”. University of California, Santa Barbara. XVI Lusophone and Hispanic Graduate Student Conference “Unveiling the Body”

2015 “Lealtades y traiciones en *El apando* de José Revueltas y Felipe Cazals”. University of California, Santa Barbara & UC-Mexicanistas. XVIII Colloquium on Mexican Literature “Falso o verdadero/ True or Fake”

Invited Lectures and Workshops

2019 Workshop “Language and rhetoric in *Altazor*,” for Literature of the Americas. Comparative Literature Program, University of California, Santa Barbara

2019 Literature Workshop “Cuerpos en tránsito: dictadura y exilio en arte y literatura del Cono Sur,” Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of California, Santa Barbara

2018 Guest lecture on Latin American short stories for Spanish. Introduction to Hispanic Literatures, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of California, Santa Barbara

2017 Guest lecture “Anzaldúa’s Borderlands theory: Main concepts,” for Dreaming Revolution: Introduction to Marx, Nietzsche and Freud. Comparative Literature Program, University of California, Santa Barbara

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Teaching Experience

University of California, Santa Barbara. California, USA

Graduate Division – Instructional Development / Center for Innovative Teaching, Research, and Learning

2020 Teaching assistant supporting remote instruction during Summer Sessions

Department of Chicano Studies – Lower Division Courses

2020 & 2016 Teaching assistant for Introduction to Chicano Studies: Gender

Department of English – Lower Division Courses

2020 Teaching assistant for Comparative Ethnic Literatures

Department of Spanish and Portuguese – Lower Division Courses

2018 – 2019 Teaching assistant for Spanish for Heritage Speakers
2018 Teaching assistant for Introduction to Hispanic Literatures
2017 Instructor of record for Spanish Advanced Grammar and Composition
2015 Instructor of record for Spanish for Heritage Speakers
2014 – 2015 Teaching assistant for Spanish for second language learners

Autonomous University of Morelos State. Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico

Bachelor of Arts in Hispanic Literature – Lower and Upper Division Courses

2014 Adjunct Professor for Literary Editing and Publishing. Sophomore and senior students
2013 Adjunct Professor for Mexican Literature (early to mid-twentieth century) Senior students

Master of Arts in Publishing

2013 Adjunct Professor for Editing, copy editing and proofreading. Graduate course
2012 & 2011 Instructor for Workshop: Spelling and writing. Special courses for university professors, students and staff

Creative Writing School Ricardo Garibay. Secretary for Culture (Morelos state government)

2011 – 2013 (36 hours each course) Instructor for Workshop: Spelling and writing. For general public

Mexican Associated Auditors (private auditors)

2012 (total of 10 hours) Instructor for Basic Writing Skills. Private course for engineers about writing audit reports

Colegio Nacional de Matemáticas (private high school)

2006 – 2009 Instructor for different humanities courses for high school level

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

Committee Member of Master of Arts Thesis

Autonomous University of Morelos State. Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico

Master of Arts in Publishing

2020	Paula Camila Osorio Lema, "En Todas Partes Pelos: Crónica Autobiográfica" (literary editing and publishing autobiography)
2020	Dalia García Gámez, "Biografía de Jorge Martínez Zapata, Jazzista Mexicano" (literary editing and publishing biography)
2014	Maricarmen García Sepúlveda, "Libro infantil ilustrado e impreso para la documentación y difusión de la cultura tradicional popular" (children's book)
2014	Imelda Arcelia Gutiérrez de la Torre, "Manual de estilo de la DGTIC, UNAM" (formatting and style handbook)
2014	Luis Roberto Bolaños Godoy, "Revista cultural de ensayo" (literary magazine)
2013	Laura Pozas Casas, "Tlaquiltenango. Tesoros de nuestra tierra. Libro infantil educativo" (children's book)
2013	Hugo Monje Ariza, "Literatura 1. Cuaderno de trabajo para desarrollar competencias" (literature textbook)

Editorial and Journal Review Service

2018	Blind peer reviewer of academic book manuscript for Universidad Veracruzana, Mexico
2017 – present	Editorial Board member for *Pensamiento al Margen*, University of Murcia, Spain
2011 – 2017	Editor in Chief for *Estudios del Discurso*, Autonomous University of Morelos State, Mexico

Conference Panel Organizing

2019	*Panel Chair and Organizer*. "Identidades periféricas: disidencia, migración y violencia en representaciones literarias y discursivas en Argentina". III Symposium Southern Cone Studies of the Latin American Studies Association "Bodies in Danger: Minorities and migrants" at Buenos Aires, Argentina
2017	*Panel Co-Organizer*. "Transcending National Bodies: Hemispheric Resistance to the State". NWSA conference "40 Years After Combahee" at Baltimore, USA

Conference Organizing

2019	*Social media and communication committee*. University of California, Santa Barbara. XIX Lusophone and Hispanic Conference "Silenced Voices"
2018	*Support committee.* University of California, Santa Barbara. Symposium on the Figure of the Translator "The Fabricant"
2018	*Social media and communication committee.* University of California, Santa Barbara & UC-Mexicanistas. XX Colloquium on Mexican Literature "Literary (Dys)functions"

2018 *Conference program and support committees*. University of California, Santa Barbara. First Writers and Scholars in Indigenous Languages and Literatures Conference "Verbal Kaleidoscope"

2016 *Social media and communication committee.* University of California, Santa Barbara & UC-Mexicanistas. XX Colloquium on Mexican Literature "Canon Perdido"

2016 *Coordinating and academic committee*. University of California, Santa Barbara. XVI Lusophone and Hispanic Graduate Student Conference "Unveiling the Body"

2015 *Social media and communication committee*. University of California, Santa Barbara & UC-Mexicanistas. XVIII Colloquium on Mexican Literature "Falso o verdadero/True or Fake"

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Latin American Studies Association
LASA Southern Cone Studies
Modern Language Association
UCHRI "Performance in the Wake of the Political: Latin American Performance as Theorization of Contemporary Politics", Multicampus Graduate Student Working Group

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Spanish – Native
English – Near-native proficiency
Portuguese – Proficient
French – Reading knowledge

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Hispanic Literatures
Studies in the Body, Literary Theory, Exile and Visual Arts with Professor Leo Cabranes-Grant

Studies in Travel and Latin American Literature with Professor Aníbal González Pérez

Studies in Southern Cone Literature and Literary Translation with Professor Suzanne Jill Levine

Studies in Latin American Exile with Professor Sara Poot-Herrera

ABSTRACT

Bodies in Transit: Violence and Exile in Southern Cone Art and Literature

by

Yunuen Gómez Ocampo

This dissertation explores the concept of the body in fictional representations within the context of repression and forced migration in literature and visual arts. My analysis focuses on the aesthetic proposals of Cristina Peri Rossi (Uruguay, 1941), Daniel Moyano (Argentina, 1930 – Spain, 1992), and José Balmes (Spain, 1927 – Chile, 2016), banned in their home countries and forced into exile by military dictatorships during the 1970s and 1980s. The study draws from contemporary discussions on nomadism, Borderlands theory, feminist critiques of modern understandings of the body—especially in the context of repression and violence—and Latin American visual arts and literary theory in relation to exile and memory. Drawing from Gloria Anzaldúa's insightful understanding of the body as a porous borderland that dwells in liminality and intersectionality, I argue that the close interrelation and interdependence between embodiment, space and time become highly legible in the condition of physical displacement. This is why I examine the somatic and discursive constructions of migrant embodiment—particularly in the situation of forced displacement—in different characters in Peri Rossi's poetry, Moyano's fiction and Balmes's art.

Bodies in Transit is composed of three chapters. Chapter 1 is titled "The Body in Fluid Stages: Negotiating Exile in *Descripción de un Naufragio*, by Cristina Peri Rossi" (1975, *Description of a Shipwreck*). In this poetry collection, the free expression of eroticism and passion constitutes an irreverent and eloquent perspective on banishment

(Butler, 1993; Grosz, 1994; Sandoval, 2000). The characters relearn their corporeal language as part of both a migratory dynamic of traveling by ship, and a hybrid reality of living in between worlds. In Chapter 2, "Going into Exile: Rethinking the Body in *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas* by Daniel Moyano" (1983, *The Book of Vessels and Tempests*), I explore the journey into forced displacement (also sailing across the open ocean), the somatic experiences of the main characters and their exposure to sexual violence, forced *disappearance*, and prison (Arendt, 1963; Butler, *Bodies*, 1993; Scarry, 1985; R. Segato, *Guerra*, 2018). The various literary voices in this novel search for ways of coping with the complex experience of banishment; they find havens in memory (personal and collective), in art, and in the representation of non-official historical episodes. Finally, in the third chapter, "Mapping Memory and Trauma: Exile in José Balmes's artwork," I examine bodies that revisit trauma in the artist's output relating to his recollections of his own journeys as a Spanish refugee in 1939 and as a Chilean exile in 1973 (Johnson, 2007; Lazzara, 2006; McCloskey, 2005; Nochlin, 1996; Richard, 2007; Taylor, 2007). In Balmes's paintings, the human body performs a testimony and is represented as an important component of an alternative historical discourse. A comparative look at these three experiences of migratory flows is important since the journey into exile has an effect on the literary and visual representations of these authors. Specifically, I analyze how the body is limited and violented by discourses deploying a modern concept of embodiment, and how, at the same time, going into exile presents opportunities for becoming aware of the embodied border-location. I am interested in the analysis of power structures and in their intersection with alternative cultural representations—literary works, visual and plastic artworks—that represent a "material site of struggle in which active links are made between signifying practices and social structure" (Lowe 22). I explore a striking reiteration of topics in the

outputs of the three creators, specifically related to the terms *absence* and *presence*, *memory* and *violence*, and *body* and *trauma*. These are recurrent concepts that acquire a particular nuance from the creators' shared experience as exiled subjects.

Although much research has already been done into Southern Cone literary and artistic exile, my work looks at significant connections in multiple intersecting fields and responds to the contemporary complexities of migration. My study broadens the discussion about the connections between embodiment and dominant discourses on citizenship and exile in the Americas. It also expands our understanding of how the vibrant and diverse cultural production of Latin American spaces is constantly threatened by repressive discourses that persist, even after the end of dictatorship, naturalizing violence and silencing dissident writers and artists.

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Preface

The Latin American cultural space has been marked by numerous massive and multidirectional migratory movements. The waves of exile between the 1960s and the 1980s transformed and enriched Latin American arts and letters in a remarkable way. The context for these movements and transformations includes globalization, the struggle for human rights, the privatization of the public sector, economic neoliberalism, and the speeches of the Cold War. It was a period in which the world witnessed social, student, trade-union and popular movements, which—following paramilitary and military repression—transformed into clandestine, guerilla uprisings, resulting in thousands of political prisoners and large communities in exile. The configuration of this space is, in fact, very recent. The term 'Latin America' only began to be used in the 19th century, the century of wars for independence across the continent. *Nuestra América*, as José Martí celebrated it in 1891. The enlightened idea of an intellectual community, a *república de las letras*, was forged at the dawn of the 20th century. But, as Diane Sorensen points out, it was not until the 1960s when—amidst the chaos—a transnational cultural identity was finally consolidated.

Two phenomena—one political and the other literary—marked the threshold of a phase of transnational cultural production, distribution, projection and consumption on a never-before-seen scale: the Cuban revolution and the Latin American Boom. This historical and cultural context was the setting for the Southern Cone military coups of the 1970s, which are the focus of this study. These coups were intertwined with the interests of a global market that sought to take full advantage of the "region of the open veins," as Eduardo Galeano termed it. Behind all of this lie the old paternalistic coup d'état politics (Sznajder and Roniger)—of exclusion, violence and banishment, and the republican and liberal discourses—creole and euro-centrist—that are so strongly rooted in the social imaginary.

At the point where these themes intersect with the coming to power of the military juntas, there is an impact on the lives of citizens who, from their universities, art studios, literary groups, or cultural journals, enriched the intellectual lives of their nations; and there is an impact too on aesthetic representations, local repertoires and institutions of artistic and literary activity. My specific interest is in the comparative analysis of the Southern Cone exile originating from the coups d'état and establishing of dictatorships in Uruguay (1972-1985), Chile (1973-1990) and Argentina (1976-1983). Although political repression has been a significant motor of migration and a constant component of our cultural systems, in this study I am also interested in a broader framework from which to analyze exile from the perspective of the displaced bodies themselves: their affects, their memories, their repertoires, and their creative archives.

Exile exposes, on the one hand, a repressive and discursive system in which direct and brutal violence against the body is validated. But it also reveals the opportunities for resilience and the somatic responses of characters who must rearrange their lives in the precariousness of a rushed journey to save themselves and their loved ones. This nomadism—the result of territorial displacement as well as the rearrangement of identity—finds prominence in a variety of aesthetic representations. A wide range of narrative, visual, performative and filmic spaces of exile from those decades reveal how exiled individuals confront new ways of conceiving of the body; constructing and deconstructing their discourses (oral and written); leaving the territory they knew as their homeland; moving to a new space and recognizing themselves there; and analyzing and understanding time and national history. These subjects modify their epistemological and creative systems, and their ways of being in the world. The journey into exile reveals highly particular mechanisms, fissures, memories, and testimonies to the urge to survive.

This research focuses on the artistic work of three creators who were forced into exile by the military repression of right-wing authoritarian regimes: Cristina Peri Rossi (Uruguay, 1941), Daniel Moyano (Argentina, 1930 – Spain, 1992), and José Balmes (Spain, 1927 – Chile, 2016). It centers on works in which the journey into exile and the scenes of political violence are represented through literary and visual methods, devices for feeding discussion on contemporary human mobility and citizenship. The aesthetic proposals behind these works form part of a necessary review of paradigms for thinking about the Latin American cultural space. Even though the works I am analyzing may seem dissimilar at first glance, I find in them a number of common threads. These reiterative phenomena of the Southern Cone provide a platform for analyzing the impact that the notoriously turbulent year of 1968 had on the cultural institutions of Latin America, including publishers, galleries, the canon, criticism and theory, literary and art history, educational institutions and, of course, the state itself. It is interesting that just as the Boom authors were rising to global prominence, large swathes of the intellectual communities of Uruguay, Chile and Argentina were being silenced. In this sense, literary-political and artistic-political practices—such as works representing exiles—depict the tragedy and violence of their home nation, while also revealing the interests of a globalized market and the privileges of the most conservative elites (economic, military and political) of the region.

The human body is the common thread in this work. In each of the works I analyze, the journey into exile reveals the body to be a complex network in displacement, an affective whole in relation to its environment. The ocean, the Pyrenees, the Palacio de la Moneda (space), together with the exiled individual's personal or national history (time), constitute an integral part of the affective training that bodies in transit must quickly learn, despite being in the middle of a harrowing experience in which they have lost everything:

home, work, family, friendships, a professional career and, in many cases, connections to their mother tongue or their sociolect. In the interrelation between these two elements—space and time—the body is the axis that links the experience of traveling with the various layers of identity of the individuals. Historical revisionism, political violence, repressive discourses and the responses to these things: love, transgression, memory and collectivity, are recurring themes that intersect in the work of all three creators. This makes it possible to conduct a separate review of the individual creators, an important way of emphasizing the aesthetic and historical particularity of each.

Thematic echoes connect the three works, enabling me to put forward a hypothesis of approach. I analyze a significant repetition of themes which, while essentially being opposed, become—in the dynamics of the literary and aesthetic representation of exile—cause-consequence: *absence* and *presence*, *violence* and *memory*, and *trauma* and *body*. These are recurrent concepts that acquire a particular nuance from the creators' experiences as exiled subjects. Firstly, the painful absence, especially of the figure of the *desaparecido*, is complemented by a collective need to remember the presences. Secondly, the generalized violence of authoritarian regimes is replicated by both individual and collective memory processes. And finally, the body responds to the trauma suffered (not only during exile, but in prior episodes of persecution, kidnapping, imprisonment, and torture, in addition to what is witnessed), by seeking to relocate itself between the cracks of an incomprehensible reality, of a fragmented present and past, and of a new space where fear and uncertainty abound.

Bridging contemporary perspectives on nomadism with feminist critique of the mind/body dichotomic structures together with a Borderlands theory reconceptualization of the body, I posit that not only have the migrant and survivor of structural forms of violence

been battered by historically sedimented repressive discourses, but that their bodily experiences enact a somatic awareness and reconfiguration of the sense of self. In the literary works and artworks that I analyze, the fictional and plastic characters display signs of re-articulation of their corporeal experience through transgressive responses such as love, personal and collective memory, and historical revisionism. In their reflections as displaced subjects and in their interactions with their immediate spaces, the characters unfold processes of knowing, being, and creating, all occurring simultaneously, as Gloria Anzaldúa states.

I bring exile and theory of the body together through Borderlands theory for several reasons. Despite the proliferation of Anzaldúa's work, and the fact that Walter Mignolo's scholarship has widened the scope of border studies globally, her theories remains underexplored in Latin American criticism. Anzaldúan studies regarding migration—in terms of geopolitical borders and from multidimensional perspectives—have not thoroughly examined her contributions to the theme of banishment within the context of Latin America. Therefore, I expand on her proposal to interrogate and theorize about artistic and literary productions that depict the experience of dislocation, the interstices of globalization, and the complexity of contemporary migration, in order to interrogate the theme of exile in the Americas. I am interested in looking at artistic and literary texts related to exile through these lens because a political, economic, and social issue as complex as exile and forced migration demands a complex analysis that challenges mono-causalities. It is not surprising that post-dictatorship literary and visual arts scholarship incorporated memory studies, performance studies, and human rights' interdisciplinary theories to participate in the vibrant dialogue produced around the junta trials, by grassroots organizations' struggles for truth, justice, and memory, and the processes of democratization in the Southern Cone. A feminist

framework on the body opens here new forms of understanding the Latin American cultural and political agenda.

These themes intertwine in the three chapters of *Bodies in Transit*. Chapter 1 is titled "The Body in Fluid Stages: Negotiating Exile in *Descripción de un Naufragio*, by Cristina Peri Rossi" (1975, *Description of a Shipwreck*). In this poetry collection, the free expression of eroticism and passion constitutes an irreverent and eloquent perspective on banishment (Butler, 1993; Grosz, 1994; Sandoval, 2000). The various characters relearn their corporeal language as part of both a migratory dynamic of a journey by ship, and a hybrid reality of living between worlds. The theme of exile runs through the poetry of Peri Rossi (*Diáspora*, 1976; *Lingüística General*, 1979; *Europa Después de la Lluvia*, 1987; *Estado de Exilio*, 2003), as does the theme of travel, especially by sea. There have been some very interesting commentaries on Peri Rossi's work. Parizad Dejbord, for example, has provided an innovative critical analysis of her poetics and her approach to exile as a "multifaceted and contradictory sign" (350). Carlos Raul Narváez has examined the literary devices used by the Uruguayan poet to tackle the theme of exile, in particular her use of the maritime metaphor: "the parody, irony, humor, playful writing and neo-baroque praxis, typographic, lexical and semantic fragmentism" (76). One of the contributions of the present study is to approach the subject of exile from contemporary perspectives of human mobility, based especially on the Borderland theory by Gloria Anzaldúa. From this foundation I analyze the poetics of Peri Rossi as an approach to rethinking the persecuted body and the discourses and structures that control and violate it.

In Chapter 2, "Going into Exile: Rethinking the Body in *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas* by Daniel Moyano" (1983, *The Book of Vessels and Tempests*), I examine the journey into forced displacement (another voyage across the ocean), the somatic experiences

of the main characters and their experiences of sexual violence, forced *disappearance*, and prison (Arendt, 1963; Butler, 1993; Scarry, 1985; Segato, *Guerra*, 2018). The various voices in this novel are searching for ways of coping with the complex experience of banishment. They find havens in memory (personal and collective), art, and through the representation of non-official historical episodes. My analysis of the work of Moyano has significant critical-literary antecedents. The first is the detailed series of studies that Marcelo Casarín has carried out into Moyano's fiction. Casarín has also edited and written prologues for a number of Moyano's books. Another critical analysis that has been of great value is Cecilia Corona Martínez's exploration of musicality in Moyano's novels. Sara Bonnardel's investigations into the subject of political violence in the author's novels has also paved the way for my own work.

The theoretical framework of this chapter is also responding to the discussion on the spaces of memory and human rights that have been reclaimed and opened up in Argentina over the past few decades, and to the feminist movements and readings on the body. In Moyano's novel, the testimonies of the exiled travelers move, as they do in Peri Rossi, between porous borders, thus enabling expansive representational possibilities. By analyzing this multiplicity of traveling bodies I am able to explore the range of ways in which the (re)construction of the self, the community, political history, state violence and—above all—the rescue of art (perception) and language (word) occur as counter-hegemonic modes of knowledge production and collective memory.

And finally, in the third chapter, "Mapping Memory and Trauma: Exile in José Balmes's Artwork," I examine bodies revisiting trauma in the artist's output, specifically his work reflecting on his own journeys as a Spanish refugee in 1939 and as a Chilean exile in 1973 (Johnson, 2007; Lazzara, 2006; McCloskey, 2005; Nochlin, 1996; Richard, 2007;

Taylor, 2007). In Balmes's aesthetics, the human body performs a testimony and is represented as an important component of an alternative historical discourse. This chapter presents the analysis of the journey into exile through visual language—especially through visual thinking or "perceptual thinking"—as a powerful medium for understanding forced migration and the contemporary configuration of the subject, while proposing a disarticulation of intolerant and universalizing discourses of human experience. In the words of Rudolph Arnheim: "Perception is an activity of thinking" (226). As in Argentina, the artistic and activist exercises of memory and human rights in Chile and Uruguay act as counterweights to social amnesia, as well as harsh exhibitions of the complex forms of generalized violence and social breakdown that result from the crimes of the military juntas. Within Balmes's visual space—the canvas, the wood, the poster, the serigraph, the mural—it is possible to recognize the multiplicity of voices that also characterizes the poetry of Peri Rossi and the fiction of Moyano. As Michael Lazzara has noted, memory always happens in relation to the *other*, never in isolation. For this reason, individual memory has a close relationship with collective memory. The symphony of voices generated by the three creators analyzed in this study represents the dynamics of the construction of the subject, a process that is intensified by the precariousness and urgency of a forced journey. The bodies in transit relocate themselves in solidarity, and in their encounter, with their *others*.

In an era of increasing globalization, bodies have been moving at an exponential rate. Since World War II, the world has witnessed an increase in both the physical displacement of communities, and in the generation of new understandings of corporeality. The works of Peri Rossi, Moyano and Balmes allow us to reflect on the body as a multiple matter: the inner life, the flesh as a liminal space, and the exterior. The inner life of the narrators is expressed in the shifting registers, in the constant use of analepsis or the use of visual

material from the past to provoke moments of historical reassessment of their respective realities and nations. In the exterior life—in the journey of the travelers—an atmosphere of precariousness and repression prevails; while the corporeal limits are the material threshold of the body that suffered all the violence of the state. These three aspects—interior, exterior and liminal—are interrelated, and they allow us to develop an inquiry into subjectivity, based on the understanding that the subject is "embodied, located, worldly, contextualized, and relational" (Liljëstrom 16). I am interested in all three relations of a tripartite conjugation of existence: the inner life, the outer life, and the liminality of the flesh. But I also, more specifically, wish to explore the body in transit, the process of displacement, the contemporary nomad.

Although much research has already been done into Southern Cone literary and artistic exile, my work looks at significant connections in multiple intersecting fields and responds to the contemporary complexities of migration. My study broadens the discussion about the connections between embodiment and dominant discourses on citizenship and exile in the Americas. It also expands our understanding of how the vibrant and diverse cultural production of Latin American spaces is constantly threatened by repressive discourses that persist, even after the end of dictatorship, naturalizing violence and silencing dissident writers and artists.

I. Introduction

I.1. The Migrant Body and the Journey Into Exile

1,950 mile-long open wound
dividing a pueblo*, a culture,*
running down the length of my body,
staking fence rods in my flesh.
splits me splits me
me raja me raja

Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands / La Frontera*

The multiple and varied population movements throughout human history draw a complex panorama from which to study contemporary human mobility. Simply setting one foot in front of the other and walking is a complex enough reason to think about the processes of cultural transformation according to Stephen Greenblatt et al. Certainly, mobility is an intrinsic feature of human life. However, the predominant notion of societies as stable groups in evolutionary progress impedes a deep analysis of a constituent peculiarity of humanity itself, "one of the characteristic powers of culture is its ability to hide the mobility that is its enabling condition" (Greenblatt 252). Edward Casey deems that

> Animals, including human animals, are not only able to change their places, they *must* do so if they are to survive. No given place suffices indefinitely […] Human beings are […] always on the move between places […] Changing places is not only a matter of tedium or restlessness. Our desires and interests, our very metabolism and musculature, conspire to keep us moving. Even when practical needs are not at issue, we keep putting [ourselves] into motion, getting out of one place and into another, and then still another. (xii)

This phenomenological perspective makes it possible to expand a thorough understanding of the experience of traveling. A human body in displacement implies the circulation of the lifeworld of the traveler: the local symbolic repertoire, the process of organizing memory or history and generating language or culture. The complicated restlessness of mobility unmasks the false notion of sedentarism and stability that gives the sense of belonging to a nation-based territory. But at the same time, when the traveler is in dire straits, the sense of self struggles to protect self-worth. One way to do this is to search for a homeland. The sense of loss—of being permanently "out of place" as Edward Said describes it—that comes with displacement is an undeniable lifeworld for those who are uprooted due to the bane of forced displacement. The vocabulary that describes multiple forms of migration responds to different moments in the history of human mobility. Historian Peter Burke gives an insightful analysis of the history of knowledge in relation to exile (from early modernity to the last authoritarian regimes of the previous century) and helps to clarify the nuances of the terms that I will be using in this analysis.

The theme of displacement has accompanied Western literature since the epic poems of the Hellenistic period. The fictional idea of humans passing from place to place—impelled by the nature of their bodies, according to Casey—has been present since Ulysses, the depiction of *nostos* per antonomasia. The nostalgia of coming back home—or losing home—or the danger of getting lost have coexisted with literary characters. Nonetheless, to have a wider appreciation of travel as a metaphor, first it is imperative to understand the material conditions of the literary movement (Greenblatt). Literary discourses and visual arts perspectives related to travel encourage us to think about the *human body* moving through *space*. With globalization came "the incessant motion of postmodern life" and the constant movement "increased risk, above all the risk of having no proper or lasting place, no place

to be or remain. A transitory place is better than none at all, but only spurs on further searching for an enduring or at least reliable place" (Casey xii-xiii). A journey across the sea, for example, demands that the body pay attention to different sources of knowledge, and it also makes apparent the close relation between *space* and *time*, as the ship is moving across the Earth's surface through space—in longitude and latitude, the equatorial coordinate system, and through time—in meridians, longitude lines or subsolar points. Together with the revision of time, with a focus on specific historical periods, the fictional travelers in the works of Peri Rossi, Moyano and Balmes show how mobility also generates the circulation and production of knowledge from a border location perspective.

Political science, international law and sociology include in their definition of the term 'migration' the population movement of "refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification" (International Organization for Migration, "Key Terms"). Indeed, it alludes to a general change of dwelling, and it is part of a semantic field associated not only with *migrant*, *emigrant*, *immigrant*, but also with *expatriate*, *refugee*, *exile*, *banishment*, *diaspora*. Indeed, when analyzing migration, the drivers of forced displacement are absolutely relevant, whether poverty, lack of basic services, persecution or conflict (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Migration"). The use of all these voices forms part of specific moments in human history. This vocabulary, together with its etymologies, refers to different forms of intersectionality—especially in terms of social class, citizenship status, political views, opinions, religion, and social origin—and it is essential to differentiate how these words are used across different disciplines.

As for 'emigrant,' the term refers to persons "who are not forced to move away from home but choose to move, often because they are attracted by working conditions abroad"

(Burke 82), from the perspective of the country of origin, they depart from one state with the purpose of settling in another. From the perspective of the *hostland* (as Burke refers to the nation that provides refuge), an 'immigrant' is a non-national who moves into a country for the purpose of settlement (Burke). One relatively new term is 'expatriate,' which appeared in 19th century, and is defined "as having been 'pulled' toward a new country rather than 'pushed' from their homeland." But, as Burke clarifies, "This mechanistic language obscures the choices that refugees had to make, even if those choices were both hard and limited. (The) distinction between voluntary and forced migration is not always a clear one, a difference of degree rather than a difference of kind" (3).

Ideally, all persons should be free to move within the territory of a country, to leave any country, and to return to their home country (IOM, 117). Since 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that: "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state." (Art. 13-2). The truth is that the struggle for human rights faces different forms of recognition of citizenship. As García Canclini claims, "today it is easier for capital, merchandise, and media messages to pass from one country to another than it is for people. It is easier to invest in a foreign country than to become a citizen. Globalization is more easily imagined for the markets than it is for human beings" (*Imagined* 51). Not all humans are recognized as citizens once a person lives as a foreigner under a state law. Even worse, not all individuals are recognized as humans, so some bodies are segregated when they do not participate in the national repertoire of narratives. Without the recognition of their citizenship, migrants bodies are vulnerable to all kinds of hardships. This is also the case of many artists, writers, journalists and intellectuals.

In this sense, Peri Rossi relates her own experience: "Me había exiliado directamente de Montevideo a Barcelona, en barco. Franco estaba vivo, y yo, sin residencia. Viajaba a la

frontera cada tres meses para volver a entrar"[1] (*Julio* 32). As for Moyano and his family, they struggled with financial security as foreigners in Spain, "Aquí en España para nosotros era imposible conseguir cualquier trabajo…En Francia el exilio fue más fácil que en España porque había una ley que protegía los refugiados políticos y en España no existía esa ley. En cambio había una ley de extranjería…Aquí fue muy duro el exilio" (in interview with Schwartz 717–18). Balmes recalls the state of vulnerability of being a child refugee crossing the Pyrenees: "Con el pacto de Munich y el ambiente de pre-guerra mundial que había por esos días en Francia, los refugiados españoles fuimos recibidos como una especie de seres indeseables," as well as his difficulties even after he became an established artist on both sides of the Atlantic: "para personas mayores como Gracia y yo, la sensación era muy dura, muy cruel" (in Badal 148, 149).

Burke also deems 'displaced person' to be a relatively new term, coined during World War II. In this regard, 'forced migration' is very closely related to this study. This term implies a coerced migratory movement with different causes. It can refer to "movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects" (IOM, *Handbook*, 167). Given the range of massive forced displacement that occurred in the postwar period, international agencies, such as IOM, are concerned about these demography issues, especially in relation to those people who suffer the most difficult experiences of loss and economic and cultural oppression, and who are therefore in need of international migration services and human rights-based protection. The consequences of losing your homeland due to a threat to life and livelihood "involves the trauma of displacement and a broken career, feelings of insecurity, isolation and nostalgia for the

[1] "I came into exile traveling by ship from Montevideo to Barcelona. Franco was still alive and I had no residency. I had to travel out of Spain every three months to gain reentry (and renew her temporary papers)."

homeland, along with practical problems such as unemployment, poverty, the struggle with a foreign language, and conflicts with other exiles and some locals (because the fear or hatred of immigrants is nothing new)" (Burke 5).

Another concept that describes the consequences of last century's waves of authoritarianism is, of course, 'refugee.' In "We Refugees" (1943), Hannah Arendt offers a wonderful reflection when she notes the rejection of the Jewish community living in the United States in the mid 1940s to being labeled with this term—preferring instead 'newcomers,' 'immigrants' or émigré—as a way of avoiding the term's connotations of "being persecuted." Since the late 1930s, Jews fleeing the Nazi regime were commonly identified as 'refugees.'

> A refugee used to be a person driven to seek refuge because of some act committed or some political opinion held. Well, it is true we have had to seek refuge; but we committed no acts and most of us never dreamt of having any radical opinion. With us the meaning of the term "refugee" has changed. Now "refugees" are those of us who have been so unfortunate as to arrive in a new country without means and have to be helped by refugee committees. (264)

The rejection and stigmas around the concept are also connected to forgetting the past, to moving on after the experience of something as horrific and unthinkable as the Holocaust. Arendt points especially at acculturation and at the desperate optimism that part of the Jewish community performed in their public lives as a way to sever their recent past and the association with the Nazi phenomenon. German and Italian refugees and Japanese immigrants living in the United States in the 1940s were subject to scrutiny and anti-immigrant sentiment and held an "enemy alien" status. The contradictory discourses on immigration are tied to race, and racial processes are differential, that is to say that every

group of immigrants is treated differently in the racial order. This was the case of Asian migrants living in the US, especially Japanese and Japanese Americans, who were subjects to the most degrading treatment of racial stratification after the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, when they were sent to internment camps and later to prison, even when the majority of them had birthright citizenship (Ozeki and Fusao in Okada).

The xenophobic imaginary and policy of enforcement that prevailed after World War II in the US is closely related to the sociopolitical context of upheaval and military dictatorships across the Americas during the second half of 20th century. North American foreign affairs discourse was the axis that shaped the Cold War era. This was largely due to the oppositional binary of communism versus capitalism that justified, in the eyes of the US government, engaging in direct military intervention in the Southern Hemisphere. Operation Condor, which I will discuss later in Chapter 3, is one such intervention. In this regards, when analyzing the historical exclusion of differentiated people in the US in her book *Immigrant Acts* (1996), scholar Lisa Lowe notes that the consolidation of a strong hegemonic nation-state was possible not only through stigmatization, but also through policy-making and the unfurling of a repressive apparatus to regulate the terms of postwar economic internationalism, particularly since Asia and Latin America became the focus of global production.

During the harshest years of Southern Cone military dictatorships, the US utilized several strategies to undertake global hegemony following the capital imperative: "US capital moved to Asian and Latin American sites of cheaper labor and production" (Lowe 15). This context also coincides with the disruption of neocolonial capitalism, transnational industry, xenophobia, and gender-based social ranking in these regions. The system of postwar and Cold War military repression functioned in the Americas in response to

capital's needs. One example of the hemispheric orientation of these policies is that the US Army provided instruction to Latin American military officials. These groups later structured and institutionalized counterinsurgency strategies, and launched attacks against civilians during authoritarian regimes in different countries. As Mayan activist and journalist Irma Alicia Velázquez Nimatuj has stated, transnational megaprojects settled in massacre sites (in an interview for the documentary film *500 Years: Life in Resistance*). This did not just occur during Guatemala's dictatorship in 1980s: ethnocide and the establishment of extractive industries have been historically linked for centuries, since the start of the colonial period. Philosopher León Rozitchner also posits that the corporeal and social disciplinary systems, a legacy of dictatorships in the Southern Cone, are closely related to neoliberal relations between the body and capitalism. Today, hydroelectric dams and open-pit mines are situated where forests, jungles, and original communities once lived.

Notwithstanding the implications of the relatively recent history of these events, discourses that perpetuate structural racism and xenophobia are still controversial issues that target different ethnic communities in North America. Today, the term 'migrant' is used as a synonym for migrant worker and/or undocumented—or even the improper illegal'—person, thus authorizing xenophobic directives. The term is therefore associated with different stigmas around people from a low-income class, and closely linked to recent migration flows from Central America and Mexico to the United States, from Sub-Saharan Africa to South America, and from Peru to Chile. Even when, as the IOM emphasizes, labor migration does not encompass the whole, complicated composition of human migration.

Another important term that has been part of human mobility for centuries is 'exile,' also a polysemic word. For some, it means a free migration movement that releases the person from different levels of political repression in the home country; for others it is a

form of forced displacement and a tragedy difficult to deal with. The related anxiety of an eventual return is part of the imaginary of being in exile. In *The Oxford Book of Exile*, journalist John Simpson goes through the long history of this concept in Western texts, going back to Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise: "The word itself carries powerful connotations of sorrow and alienation, of the surrender of the individual to overwhelming strength, of years of fruitless waiting" (1). Since the times of Ancient Greece, the term has been consistently related to political ideology:

> The possibility of overthrow, whether as a result of discontent at home or invasion from abroad, is a constant accompaniment of political power, and kings, presidents, dictators, and their ministers, if they are wise, will always prepare a foreign haven for themselves. (Simpson 39)

The noun 'exile' is also very old in Spanish. It first appears in texts by Gonzalo de Berceo, Juan Fernández de Heredia and Alfonso X of Castile.[2] According to Uruguayan writer Ricardo Soca, the entire known Spanish *corpus* contains a reference to this term since 13th century. In early 14th century, Dante Alighieri describes this experience as "Tu proverai sì come sa di sale / lo pane altrui, e come è duro calle / lo scendere e 'l salir per l'altrui scale" (244).[3] Later, in Antonio de Nebrija's *Vocabulario Español-Latino* (1495?) the entry 'destierro' (Spanish word for 'banishment') appears, with the Latin translations: *deportatio*, *relegation*, or *exilium*. During the 15th and 16th centuries, in the transition from the Late

[2] The *Corpus del Nuevo Diccionario Histórico del Español* finds the first mention of the term in *Vida de San Millán de la Cogolla* (ca 1230), by Gonzalo de Berceo, as shown in a manuscript in the library of the Real Academia Española,

> Amava d'esti mundo seer desembargado,
> de la temporal vida era fuert' enojado;
> bien amarié que fuesse so corso acabado,
> e exir d'est' exilio de malveztat poblado.

[3] Translated by John D. Sinclair: "the bow of exile shoots first. Thou shalt prove how / salt is the taste of another man's bread and how / hard is the way up and down another man's stairs" (245).

Middle Ages to early Modernity, exile acquires a different meaning, especially in regard to the origin of the person. As art historian Barbara McCloskey explains,

> Modernist conceptions of exile tend to emphasize those who are politically persecuted and excluded. According to the modernist, these individuals possess a subjective coherence. That coherence is grounded and fixed in some kind of origin—ethnic, linguistic, national, historical—an origin from which they have been driven out, but to which they are irrevocably tied, and from which they ultimately derive their identity. (136-137)

In the wake of the Renaissance and humanism, and the emergence of proto-nationalism and rationalism in Western Europe, the loss of homeland became a greater disruptor to the sense of self and to an ability to engage in civic life. In the Hispanic world, the term confirms its historical relevance by appearing in the first dictionary compiled by the Real Academia Española, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1732). 'Exilio' is defined in this archive with a single meaning: "Lo mismo que Destierro. Es voz Latina y de raro uso."[4] Since then, it has always appeared as synonym of 'destierro.' According to the philologist Joan Coromines, the Latin *exilium* derives from *exilire*, which in Spanish is 'saltar afuera' ('to jump outside'), and this, in turn, derives from *salire*, 'salir' in Spanish ('to exit').

In the Hispanic literary tradition, the first fictional exiles appeared in the Spanish Golden Age: with Abencerraje (Moorish novel and *romancero*) and in the account of the Morisco Ricote and his daughter Ana Félix (in *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*). Abindarráez is a representation of the social, political and religious complexity that prevailed on both sides of the border between Castilla and Granada; in the version presented by Antonio de Villegas (1565, in López Estrada), the Moor introduces himself

[4] "Same as Banishment. Latin word of rare use."

singing: “Nascido en Granada, / criado en Cártama, / enamorado en Coín, / frontero de Álora,” (108), evincing in this multiplicity of places and life stages his condition as exiled subject. The expulsion of Moriscos and Jews from Spain resulted in the display of fictional characters as Mudejars, Moors, converts, captives, renegades, shipwreck survivors, and exiles. “Nuestro miserable destierro” (*Quijote*, II, 63), laments Ana Félix about the tragic exiling of the Moriscos from Spain. Even with this long lexicographic and political tradition, it was not until 1970 when the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* introduced, for the first time, the derivatives ‘exiliado’ and ‘exiliar.’ The contemporary meaning in the Hispanic tradition is undoubtedly related to the wave of exile caused by the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939.

Literary scholar Claudio Guillén unveils the variety of literary registers for banishment. In *El Sol de los Desterrados*, he points out how this phenomenon increases exponentially during the 20th century, and develops along with a new figure: the cosmopolitan writer.

> [Al] escritor se le teme y expulsa ahora, [en la época moderna], por el mero hecho de serlo, de ejercer libremente como tal. […] Antes de la Revolución francesa el público lector, explica Weintraub, era relativamente exiguo y la palabra no era una amenaza. […] El escritor moderno cumple acaso con la azarosa función compensadora que Paul Bénichou ha descrito en *Le Sacre de l’ écrivain. 1750-1850* (París, 1973), convirtiéndose en conciencia y guía de una sociedad en que se tambalean las instituciones portadoras de valores. (82-83)

Moreover, scholar Alfonso de Toro highlights the fact that the nuances of the terminology related to migration are in constant change, especially because of the different

phenomena of transculturation that come with globalization during the 20th century. International conflicts from the first half of last century bring a new shift in contemporary understanding and experience of exile. McCloskey relates these changes to "postmodernist" manifestations, and she notes that this represents "the erosion of the confident, centered human subject, 'man, the measure of all things,' at the heart of humanist thought. War, the trauma of dislocation, and confrontation with [new cultures] during and after World War II dramatically changed the art, writings, sense of self, and intellectual outlooks" of the exiles (136). In summing up almost six centuries of modern historiography of this form of political repression, she says: "For the modernist, the exile is the exception; for the postmodernist he or she epitomizes the contemporary human condition" (McCloskey 137).

In this way, the term 'diaspora' also reflects contemporary transculturation. This migratory phenomenon refers to "any people or ethnic population that leave their traditional ethnic homelands, being dispersed throughout other parts of the world" (IOM *Handbook*, 33). The concept has also changed with time, but in contrast with exile, diaspora is not related to political ideology, nor to nostalgia for the homeland; these communities dwell in liminality: "en un territorio transitorio para volver posteriormente a la tierra prometida"[5] (De Toro in Mertz-Baumgartner y Pfeiffer 23). Specifically since the 3rd century B.C., it refers to the Jewish dispersions from their ancestral homeland. In this sense, sociologist Stéphane Dufoix analyzes the historical changes in this form of human mobilization, and he underlines that starting in the 1970s there was a shift in theoretical approaches to topics related to migration. As he underlines, the expansion in the terminology associated with human displacement and with our connections to our places of origin are signs of migration's diversity.

[5] "in a transitory territory to go back later to the promised land."

Can diaspora remain intact to 20th century population movements, and refer exclusively to African human trafficking related to slavery, or to the experience of the Jewish expulsion? Is it useful to explain exile by identifying the difference between its political, economic, or cultural motivations? Which category can critics use to name forced migration for Spanish refugees, Jewish communities during World War II, Palestinians as of 1948, Mexicans moving into the US, Puerto Ricans after the island became an unincorporated territory of the US, and the waves of migration triggered by Latin American dictatorships (Rafael Trujillo, Fulgencio Batista, Fidel Castro, Juan María Bordaberry, Alfredo Stroessner Augusto Pinochet, Rafael Videla—the list is unfortunately long)? As Defoix states, migration during the last century became so diverse that the religious, political, sexual, ethnic, racial, economic motivations became blurred. This is why exile, diaspora, or banishment are forms of forced displacement that juxtapose with their consequences: asylum, refugee, deportation. Contemporary processes of human contingency display a multiple dynamic, and the theoretical framework to analyze and generate expanded comprehension of this phenomena should also respond to these uncertainties.

In this regard, the terms 'exile' and 'diaspora' do not currently refer strictly to their specific origins, and they influence each other: "hoy por hoy no son capaces de aprehender y describir la cultura actual ya que las migraciones de individuos y grupos se han transformado en la norma"[6] (De Toro 25). Both words are hybrid epistemological spaces that are in constant recodification. The scholarly community has started to use terms like African diaspora, or Asian diaspora, to refer to the ancestries of African American and Asian American people; or Puerto Rican diaspora, Cuban diaspora, Dominican diaspora, to name the communities of those respective Caribbean countries living in the United States, or

[6] "we are incapable of apprehending and describing contemporary culture today because individual migrants and groups of migrants are now the norm."

who are in a fluid circular migration between countries. Besides, as Arendt foresaw, the post-Auschwitz world undermined Modernity's values and the authority of traditional institutions in an irreversible way, readjusting identity, the sense of self and otherness. However, the nationalism, militarization, and intolerance that shaped Europe in the 1930s had a powerful and prevailing influence during the Cold War era as well.

In this analysis I use 'exile'—or its synonym 'banishment'—as a phenomenon present in diverse cultural productions, represented in poetry, fiction and artwork. My interest is to explore political repression through this theme in visual arts and literary works: exile represented aesthetically and culturally, displacement in a new geography and the fictional body responding to this experience. To limit the use of exile to its political motivation restricts possibilities of analysis. Like De Toro, I consider that dictatorships and practices of political repression compel people to flee their home countries. The decision of artists, writers, journalists and intellectuals to go into exile is sometimes related to economic vulnerabilities and to the desire to recover a space for free speech, free choice, and professional development. In *Julio Cortázar y Cris*, Peri Rossi relates her sincere and urgent reasons for going into exile:

> A las diez de la mañana del 4 de octubre de 1972, el blanco y pesado transatlántico *Giulio Cesare* (como un mastodonte del mar) comenzó las maniobras de desamarre en el puerto de Montevideo. […] Me asomé a la borda y, a lo lejos, pude ver a mi hermana, que me hacía adiós con la mano, mientras lloraba. Yo también lloraba. Huía, para salvar el pellejo, aunque tenía una duda: ¿valía la pena tanto dolor para salvarlo? Uruguay, tierra de acogida para exiliados y expulsados de todo el mundo –italianos, españoles,

> polacos, rusos, griegos, turcos, armenios–, se había convertido en lo contrario: un país de éxodo, de exilio, de huida. (21)

Her decision was caused by multiple factors: her work as a writer was banned, she had lost her position at the university, her life and freedom were at risk, her country was on the verge of a coup d'état.

I.2. The Nation, Citizenship and Migration

The border is a discursive production of a particular space, or in-between spaces. Borders are sites of exclusionary politics (Blake). States that consider migration a matter of justice, criminality and national security are failing to provide assistance to the humanitarian crisis that most of the time is implicated in immigration. Criminalization of human mobility threatens the personal security of those who usually travel in the most vulnerable circumstances, and opposes the imminent "flows" that humanity has followed throughout history. Rethinking borders allows us to create accountability around how bodies-humans-citizens live when traversing the in-betweenness of national identities.

The processes of imagining a nation or becoming eligible for citizenship are intrinsically linked to powerful discursive constructions on migration and border, race and racism, and the body and human rights. As Lowe reveals, "Citizens inhabit the political space of the nation, a space that is, at once, juridically legislated, territorially situated, and culturally embodied" (Lowe 2). If the individual cannot participate in one of these components: the legal system, the physical territory, or cultural production, that subject cannot fully participate in the national site of the citizenry. In Western societies, depending on how favorable the components of the social identity of specific bodies are, some individuals are entitled to be citizens (either through birthright or naturalization), subjects, or humans, and some may not; as Segato also points out:

> Ese discurso de que todos somos ciudadanos es un problema inclusive de los operadores de justicia…. Esa ciudadanía no funciona, es ilusoria. Las mujeres no somos plenamente ciudadanas y no somos plenamente personas. Nuestra experiencia es ésa. Por más que por decreto coloquemos todos los días en tinte, en un papel, que "somos ciudadanas" a mí me parece que está muy distante de suceder. ("Cuerpos")

This is an everyday reality in terms of gender. And disparities increase in proportion to how individuals are perceived in terms of their sex, sexuality, race, ethnicity, language, religion, social class, and social origin. In modernity, dominant discourses have privileged a universal subjectivity, the Cartesian self: i.e., a male, heterosexual, white, Caucasian, native speaker of a dominant language, probably Christian, wealthy, and with access to higher education. This universality of the political body is validated through specific policies which have generated historical inequalities and rendered invisible minoritarian forms of identity that the law has perceived—and produced through discursive devices—as a threat to the symbolic whole. As a system of language and thought representation, binary terms also constitute a system of human categorization that generates relations of oppression and power—such as sexism, xenophobia, racism, heterosexism, homophobia, class exploitation—and systems of privilege—such as patriarchy, heterosexuality, male privilege. In a radical response to overcome the subjection of subjectivity, Anzaldúa deems that "A massive uprooting of dualistic thinking in the individual and collective consciousness is the beginning of a long struggle, but one that could, in our best hopes, bring us to the end of rape, of violence, of war" (*Borderlands* 102).

I am interested in the analysis of literary and visual art representations of structural violence and human mobility—particularly forced migration—as sites of struggle and

memory, but also as countersites to repressive imaginaries of national cultures that discipline the materiality of the *body*, belittle the notion of humanity—or limit who is entitled to be *human* and who is not—and administer *citizenship*. Through an analysis of exile I affirm that body-human-citizen are differential terms, and that people are treated differently according to their identities, meaning that not all persons are entitled to these three categories, especially within the context of political repression and violence. Lowe explains that "in a political system constituted by the historical exclusion and labor of racialized groups, the promise of inclusion through citizenship and rights cannot resolve the material inequalities" (23). In that sense, this conceptual trilogy is also a site of contradiction. As Edward Said states, "we are not one pure thing." Indeed, diversity is at the core of what make us human. However, it has been historically regarded and officially treated as a menace. Diversity as a result of human mobility has been present throughout history, but during modernity, the processes of cultural transformation have constantly evolved in terms of superiority, coloniality, domination and racial hierarchy. In spite of the decline of modernity, and the ideals of progress and humanism that grew in the wake of the Holocaust, Western society has not been able to accomplish a radical shift in terms of opening up to diverse epistemologies other than the binary system.

Additionally, I want to highlight another ambiguous factor about exile, which is the political motivation behind it, and how an authoritarian regime defines the discursive construction of 'political enemy.' The direct threats and restrictions that many writers and artists faced were not always related to left-wing ideologies or membership of a communist party but to structural bigotry, and to colonial-modernity systems for controlling knowledge, beingness, and creativity. According to Guillén, their work has been considered an opponent of repressive states because of its power as an emancipatory act of individual creativity.

Furthermore, the decisions of a repressive government are based on a system of impunity and on the dictator's megalomania, and are not always linked directly to the dissident discourse of the individuals who are exiled. As Pinochet once said, "Yo los estoy viendo desde arriba porque Dios me puso ahí, la providencia, el destino, como quieran llamarlo, me ha puesto ahí" (*La Época*, July 2, 1981, reproduced in *El Mercurio*. "Historia"). Also, the discursive memory that defines what constitutes a *political enemy* still prevails when the dictator dies or when a new president is elected. Political repression is a complicated system that still persists during *democratic* periods. The current social and migratory circumstances in Latin America evidences a powerful repressive discourse that has been in constant transformation.

That is the case of Moyano, who left La Rioja as soon as he was released from prison, concerned that the military government would persecute and imprison him again, "Nunca fui comunista ni milité en nada… [Mi] mujer preguntó una vez por qué me perseguían y le dijeron que por mi ideología… [Sin embargo, en] mis cuentos y novelas los golpes de Estado no salen porque quiera que formen parte de mi estética o de mi estilo, sino porque forman parte de mi vida." (in interview with Javier Cuervo *Miedo* 5). He was under suspicion for being a journalist and writer. Once in exile, he was censored in Argentina and copies of his work were destroyed in book burnings. Balmes was also blacklisted for being dean of the School of Arts and because he was very involved in visual arts projects in support of president Salvador Allende. Balmes expresses mixed feelings when he recalls his days of exile, "Al principio está la sensación de haber abandonado algo que no debía; pero con el correr de los días, uno se da cuenta que haberse quedado en Chile en un momento tan peligroso, no tenía sentido" (148). Political exile is not a free decision when leaving one's home country becomes a matter of life and death.

This complex picture of migratory phenomena is related in different levels to the topic of travel. In a general sense, a journey encourages travelers to reflect on their positionality in the world. As Burke suggests, "Distance had a positive as well as negative effect on refugee scholars, allowing the big picture to become more visible" (170). A body in transit unveils local imaginaries and cultural aspects invisible in our daily routines, but evident when the homeland is far away. According to García Canclini, globalization opens a new definition of culture as a "designated processes of production, circulation, and consumption of meaning in social life. This definition is still useful in allaying the temptations to reinstate dualisms (between material and spiritual, economic and symbolic, or individual and collective)" (*Imagined* 85). In the context of the multidirectional migration that developed during the 20th century, this perspective allows us to think about creating meanings as a process, a constant negotiation. And I expand it to the body: culture is a form of the body by other means, an embodied extension of a net of meaning and a representation of humans and their environment. People participate in this dynamic through both their similarities and differences.

De Toro highlights the complexity of this phenomena: "la cultura siempre se encuentra de paso, recodificándose y reinventándose, como una semiosis de intertersecciones, nómada" (25). This is absolutely relevant when understanding trans-culturality, defined as "el recurso a modelos, a fragmentos o a bienes culturales que no son generados ni en el propio contexto cultural (cultura local o de base) ni por una propia identidad cultural, sino que provienen de culturas externas y corresponden a otra identidad y lengua, construyendo así un campo de acción heterogénea," which is exactly the process unfolded in visual arts and literary works related to exile. The process is a continuum, and it

is necessarily hybrid, it does not annul the local identity of the subject, nor does it produce a stable or permanent Hegelian synthesis (21).

Visual arts and literatures do not remain indifferent to these power relations and systems of representation. The relation is not just a thematic hint, but a systematic and symbolic structure that is more difficult to control and identify at first sight. The way in which we produce, circulate and consume cultural expressions is closely linked to how we imagine the nation and how we conceive of our sense of belonging. In literary texts and visual artworks relating to migration, more specifically to exile, the human body confronts the configuration of subjectivity and usually becomes aware of the overlapping layers that generate exclusion for certain bodies and strip them from the canonical concept of citizenry. When the body is in displacement, the culture travels as well.

For this reason, I center this analysis on the body, to expand and reimagine the ways in which Latin America has inscribed the mestizo body. I am particularly interested in the brown body that has been stigmatized in political terms as an enemy. Although I do not analyze in depth the way in which race and racism have defined the modern history of the continent (and continue to shape our daily lives), I refer to the terms 'mestizo' and 'brown' to acknowledge that this discussion on forced migration forms part of alternative perspectives and discourses, especially epistemologies of mestizo communities and non-white communities. This study attempts to analyze one part of the cultural production associated with exile from Latin American mestizo imaginaries, and therefore hybrid, transcultural and translocal imaginaries. The body is our first territory, and the bodies that are expelled from the political body of the nation are read from their first border: the color of their skin. Sometimes exile is related to political affiliation, but most often—especially during 20th century—it has been related to paternalist and dominant ways of disciplining the

body that have been validated since colonization and reinforced during the 19th century and the wars of independence.

Different forms of oppression or social justice problems are not equally experienced by everyone. Many of the phobias and bigotries aforementioned often overlap and create multiple levels of social injustice. The value-laden categories of oppositional binaries generate an illusory, distorted, hierarchical, and ethnocentric order. Also, within every pair of related terms—male/female, heterosexual/queer, white/people of color, European or Anglo-Saxon/native, Christian/pagan, upper class/working class, intellectual/illiterate—comes a deeper reinforced meaning, for example, being *white*, which is the distorted dominant subjectivity, involves goodness or benignity, while being a person of color, which is perceived as a minoritarian subjectivity, is associated with evil and scarcity. The hidden threads that authorize such representation is the Western discursive history of slavery, modernity and coloniality. As Anzaldúa denounces: "dichotomy is the root of all violence" (*Borderlands*, 59).

In this regard, Segato emphasizes that the cornerstone of the binary order is precisely the subjectivity as universal value versus the *convenient* construction of minoritarian identities. The conceptualization of *minority* and the minorization of the struggle of feminism is the axis of all forms of violent and hierarchical orders (*Las Estructuras Elementales de la Violencia*). As Segato states, "La violencia contra la mujer no es una violencia contra la mujer…, [es] el primer paso a un orden violento y jerárquico en general." These forms of social and subject hierarchies have historically privileged dominant structures of power, which are the basis of all forms of inequalities. When creole elites succeed in emancipating from European monarchies and taking power themselves, they maintained the same Eurocentric values and the same derogatory perspectives on native

people, African descendants—and, over time, people of Asian ancestry—all of whom suffered a resulting erasure of their cultural expressions, epistemologies, and entitlement to be humans, bodies and citizens. Exile became a systematic method of rule for young Latin American nations (Sznajder and Roniger). The centralist, i.e. paternalistic, republican system forged an illusory order with political repression and the abuse of military force.

To bring together this complicated picture of different phenomena, my research explores the implications of the modern understanding of the body in Peri Rossi's poetry, Moyano's novel and Balmes' artwork, and their interactions within the context of forced migration. Borderlands theory and the feminist critique of Cartesian conceptualization of the body have exposed the naturalization of violence against specific forms of embodiments. I am particularly interested in the depiction of the corporeal experience and space through political repression and forced and imaginary displacement. The literary and plastic characters confront normative orders and components of inequality based on the intersections of ethnicity, sexuality, class, nation, political opinion, social origin and religion. Feminist and queer perspectives urge us to challenge the ways in which we imagine the human body. In my study, I analyze the implications of gender within these literary and artistic works, considering that gendered relations and diverse social practices affect our understanding of the body. Gender studies also allows me to analyze how representations of the body affect broader cultural processes.

After decades of military coups that deposed democratically-elected presidencies across Central and South America and the Caribbean, countries like Argentina, Chile and Uruguay are significant examples of the challenges of forging conditions for post-conflict transitional justice. Nevertheless, at the same time, their cultural heritage says a lot about the atrocities of state terror, the difficulties of fighting for justice, and the importance of

humanitarianism and memory studies. In this sense, it has been valuable for me to examine critically how humanities and cultural expressions interact with socio-political components. As Lowe argues, "Because culture is the contemporary repository of memory, of history, it is through culture, rather than government, that alternative forms of subjectivity, collectivity, and public life are imagined." It is through the wider cultural productions that we can get a sense of the different phenomena that are the focus of this project: authoritarian repression, global market, discourse representations of the corporeal order, and human rights activism. The different artistic and cultural expressions from the community in exile represent the interrelation of these topics. In order to understand the influence that Latin American migrants and globalization have had on the Hispanic world—both historically and in contemporary times—I am interested in cross-disciplinary studies. The interdisciplinarity between different aesthetic manifestations is fluid and open, and that is why critics of literature, arts and culture should reflect on this complexity: "it is only through culture that we conceive and enact new subjects and practices in antagonism to the regulatory *locus* of the citizen-subject, by way of culture that we can question those modes of government" (Lowe 22).

State violence, torture, illegal detentions, forced disappearances, forced displacement, and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment deny the citizenry the right to know, to understand and to express from critical positioning. By physically punishing *political enemies*, authoritarian regimes damage a complex network of symbolism implied within the bodies of artists, writers, journalists, intellectuals, migrants and any citizen who endures the distress of political repression. I focus on the symbolic and socially-mediated body, rather than on the "natural" definition, or purely on its biological or anatomical components. I proceed by carrying out a close reading of the literary works and artworks

that resist the modern, dominant representation of the body, foregoing a biologically grounded figuration in order to present the body in allusive terms through which its complexity might be reimagined.

1. The Body in Fluid Stages. Negotiating Exile in *Descripción de un Naufragio* by Cristina Peri Rossi

el mar es la tierra del navegante, y todo, fuera del mar, es naufragio

Cristina Peri Rossi, *Estado de exilio*

Pero cuando una palabra escrita
en el margen en la página en la pared
sirve para aliviar el dolor de un torturado,
la literatura tiene sentido.

Cristina Peri Rossi, *Estado de exilio*

An outlaw boards a boat, but this boat is on the verge of sinking. From the very beginning—in the title itself—the poetic voice warns of the coming catastrophe: a *description of a shipwreck* (*Descripción de un Naufragio* 1975).[7] "No fue nuestra culpa si nacimos en tiempos de penuria. / Tiempos de echarse al mar y navegar" (XVI),[8] claims the sailor. The main character is a male navigator forced to flee on a treacherous voyage. Due to political repression, he has lived multiple processes of alienation before the scenario described in the poem: he has been persecuted, he has escaped in a boat, and he has previously been shipwrecked.

Mi vino era triste,
mi amiga, visceral,
errantes navegaciones,
    velas errantes,
sin carta, la eché a navegar.
Preguntaron por mí los generales.

(XV)[9]

[7] *Description of a Shipwreck* has not been translated into English. The translations that I present in footnotes were prepared during a number of translation workshops taught by Suzanne Jill Levine.

[8] "We can't be blamed: we were born in bad times. / A time to put out to sea, to set sail."

[9] "my wine was sad, / my friend, visceral, / vagabond journeys, / vagabond sails, / without papers, I set sail. / The generals asked after me."

From the start of his journey, he is already a stowaway looking for refuge: "Navegante rebelde navegaba, / sin permiso del general" (XVI),[10] confesses the sailor. Running away from his past, he will find a haven in love and in his somatic reality: in his own body and in a female body. The *other* will be an important component of this poetic story. "Mi amiga" (*My friend*), as the voice mentions above, is the woman who will reconnect the sailor to the many layers of his past and present reality. This analysis is focused on the poetic representation of these migrant bodies: on the one hand, the male figure faces repression and is forced to flee; on the other hand, his encounter with the woman allows him to deconstruct the Western mind/body binary system. The political critique of this power structure legitimizes a different relationship between thought and flesh: rather than being in opposition, they become fluid, porous, and interrelated terms. The travelers become lovers in the middle of a tragedy and through love they respond in an irreverent way to banishment.

In this chapter I explore the concept of the body in this poetry book by Cristina Peri Rossi (Uruguay, 1941), within the context of human mobility, particularly exile. The poetic space and different registers seem more like a narrative poem than lyric poetry. The narrative is not one of extraordinary happenings, as in the epic poem, but one of poetic characters who confront discursive constructions that generate and validate oppression at the core of the story of two lovers. Sailing on the open sea, their journey occurs not only *in space* but *in time,* with a variety of displaced voices reviewing their national history. This is a recurrent feature in the output of the three authors I analyze in this book. The dynamic spatial and temporal relationship is of great relevance to the ways in which the displaced body is rethought synchronously and diachronically. My interest is in exploring

[10] "Rebellious sailor, sailing, / without the general's permission."

transgression as an eloquent response to exile and reflecting on the boat trip as a representation of a fluid stage in which the poetic voices negotiate their personal and national identities. This constant negotiation challenges the hegemonic stereotypes imposed by the repressive environments in which they dwell.

The free expression of feminine eroticism and homoerotic passion in Peri Rossi's poems constitutes an irreverent and eloquent perspective of exile. Transgressive discourses and aesthetics like hers remain on the edge of the literary canon. However, from de-centered positions, they enrich our understanding of the multidimensional basis of structural violence. In this book of poems, the characters display gendered bodies that help us analyze the current human circumstances in Latin America. By de-centralizing hegemonic embodiment, and decolonizing approaches to minoritized bodies, Peri Rossi's lyrical poetry defies the hierarchies of a traditional system of privileges. The human body takes the stage in this maritime journey. Analyzing literary texts and literary representations of disenfranchised subjectivities is a way to intervene in our epistemological spaces. Opening possibilities to dissident voices brings plurality to the critics. *Descripción de un Naufragio* inspires us to confront all these critical differences.

2.4. Shipwreck in Detail

Las casas de mis días
flotaban como arcas
vías de agua
donde —Noé dormido—
yo me deslizaba
en sueños de maleza.

Y todo era fugitivo

Cristina Peri Rossi, "Exilio" en *Lingüística General*

Cristina Peri Rossi published this book of poems while she was exiled in Barcelona. She fled from her home country, Uruguay, in 1972, a few months before the civic-military

dictatorship declared the suspension of civil rights. She has resided in Europe since then. Those years coincide with other major phenomena that reshaped Hispanic American cultural production: first, the Latin American Boom; second, massive forced migration due to a variety of political and economic circumstances—such as coups-d'état and the installation of military governments; and finally, globalization.

The Latin American Boom flourished during the 1960s and 1970s. It was primarily focused on novels, and there are no women during the first years of this movement. Peri Rossi's poetry was not in the spotlight in Spain during that period, though she already had a career as a writer in her home country. She explains her own experience of cultural isolation and publishing marginalization in the prologue to *Poesía Reunida* (2005):

> ser la escritora joven más importante de Uruguay y haber publicado cinco libros antes de los treinta años no significaba absolutamente nada ni en Barcelona ni en España […]. Sentí que tenía que partir de cero: mi profesión (yo era catedrática de literatura comparada) no existía. (14)[11]

In the article "The Boom of the Latin American Novel," John King lists the most paradigmatic novels that marked the beginning of that innovative era: *La región más transparente* (1958, Fondo de Cultura Económica) or *Aura* (1962, Era) by Carlos Fuentes; *Rayuela* (1963, Sudamericana) by Julio Cortázar; *Los impostores* (1962, award winner in Seix Barral and later re-titled *La ciudad y los perros*, Seix Barral) by Mario Vargas Llosa; and *Cien años de soledad* (1967, Sudamericana) by Gabriel García Márquez. This group of writers came to be well known in the Hispanic world thanks in part to the attention they received in Spain. Catalonian editors. Catalan editors gave opportunities to many of them. The abovementioned novels by Vargas Llosa and García Márquez were both first published

in foreign presses. This intense level of international projection did not exist in the years before the Boom. Prior to this period, the immensity of the foreign market of Spanish-speaking countries had remained unexplored by publishers. This was largely due to the fact that cultural production in Latin America was disseminated primarily for national consumption. Publishing houses had not expanded their opportunities by importing and exporting books, which would have nurtured transcultural interactions in the years to come. In *Historia Personal del "Boom"* (1972), José Donoso relates the difficulties writers faced during the 1950s, including the expense of publishing their own work, but also due to the fact that there was very limited access to world literature, even from neighboring, Spanish-speaking countries, such as Argentine literature.

Peri Rossi was born in 1941, making her younger than the leading writers of the Boom: Cortázar was born in 1914, Donoso in 1924, García Márquez in 1927, Fuentes in 1928, and Vargas Llosa in 1936. Despite this, she resided in Barcelona: the main platform of projection for the Boom writers. She was well known in Uruguay, where she contributed to the prestigious magazine *Marcha*. Before leaving Montevideo, she visited the editorial staff one last time:

> Antes de subir al barco, me detuve un instante en la redacción del semanario *Marcha*, donde colaboraba (y donde escribió toda la generación del *boom* latinoamericano y la izquierda europea, de Jean-Paul Sartre a García Márquez, de Régis Debray a Marta Traba, de Althusser a Juan Carlos Onetti),

[11] "being the most important young writer from Uruguay and having published five books before the age of 30 meant nothing in Barcelona nor Spain…. I felt I had to start over again, my profession—I was assistant professor of Comparative Literature—did not exist at all."

> y le comuniqué a Hugo Alfaro, el infalible secretario de redacción, que me iba a Barcelona. (*Julio* 22)[12]

Her poetry book *Descripción de un Naufragio* was first published by Lumen; it received very little attention from critics, however. Nowadays, the Boom is part of the literary canon. It renovated the Latin American novel—both formally and thematically—but it was predominantly a male-centered and narrative movement. Isabel Allende (born in 1942, almost the same age as Peri Rossi) is now considered part of the group, though her inclusion occurred in the 1980s when she published *La casa de los espíritus* (1982, Sudamericana). Poetry did not seem to fit in the Boom or post-Boom aesthetics.

Even though Spain gave political refuge to hundreds of writers and artists, the country was still under fascist rule, and non-traditional arts expressions were subject to the censorship apparatus. Perhaps Spain was not ready for the lyric of erotic transgression proposed by Peri Rossi. In *The Censorship Files: Latin American Writers and Franco's Spain*, Alejandro Herrero-Olaizola discloses the negotiations that Vargas Llosa, García Márquez, Guillermo Cabrera Infante and Manuel Puig engaged in with the Francoist censorship in order to achieve publication in Spain. Most of these authors were left-wing and dissidents, but their works coincided with new public policies during the 1960s to expand the publishing market with a patriarchal pan-Hispanic vision. Herrero-Olaizola also highlights another factor in this complex panorama: two driving forces behind this context were the editor and writer Carlos Barral and the literary agent Carmen Balcells.

The Boom phenomenon hit the global market at a challenging time for the book trade, and for the world, riven by the geopolitical tensions of the Cold War. As I analyze in

[12] "Before boarding the ship, I stopped by the editorial department of the weekly publication *Marcha*, where I was a collaborator (and where all the writers of the Latin American Boom and the European left were published, from Jean-Paul Sartre to García Márquez, from Régis Debray to Marta Traba, from Althusser to Juan Carlos Onetti), to tell Hugo Alfaro, the infallible editor in chief, that I was leaving for Barcelona."

the following pages, the cultural and political circumstances displayed in Peri Rossi's poetic story are closely related to the wider process of globalization. When Latin American dictatorships expelled, arrested, kidnapped, tortured, persecuted, imprisoned, *disappeared* or murdered thousands of citizens, those intolerant regimes activated a complicated phenomenon of forced migration which, in turn, stimulated systems of cultural circulation. Migration, immigration, forced migration, exile, diaspora, and asylum all provided greater visibility to the cultural production of historically marginalized countries.

In *Imagined Globalization* (1999), Néstor García Canclini studies how globalization reshaped the relationship between Latin America, Europe and the United States. The Argentinian anthropologist defines globalization as the "intensification of reciprocal dependencies (Beck 2000), and the growth and acceleration of economic and cultural networks that operate on a global scale and upon a worldwide foundation" (21-22). He clearly places the birth of globalization during the second half of the 20th century to distinguish it from its previous iterations: the first being the internationalization of economy and culture which began in the 15th century with the first transoceanic voyages and the consequent establishing of new trade routes and colonization; and the second being the transnationalization that occurred at the start of the 20th century, when organisms and corporations spread their operations throughout different territories, operating outside their home country, independently from nation states.

After World War II, the worldwide market acquired special significance when satellite communication, aerial transportation, capital market integration and, more recently, fiber optic internet created transnational circuits that developed very quickly. These historical, cultural, economic and geopolitical changes set the stage for what I am referring to as *globalization*. Literary and visual art production is part of these circumstances too.

Throughout the last century, writers and artists traveled all over the world, not only as exiles or refugees, but also as tourists, diplomats and journalists. In general, travel opens new doors and generates visibility for Latin American cultural production. García Canclini describes this as a multi-directional and trans-class migration because travelers come back and forth from the Global North to the Global South and vice versa, regardless of their social class. At the same time, travel open spaces for new sites of cultural exchange.

Another factor that stimulated the Boom is related to the different trade relations that the United States initiated with Latin America, especially during World War II and after the Cuban Revolution. During the Cold War, these connections increased and the US advanced a dominant and active foreign policy in order to prevent socialist or communist regimes establishing themselves on the continent. As King indicates, actions "ranged from support for 'modernizing,' non-revolutionary regimes […] to the development of support of certain forms of modern art by cultural foundations such as Ford and Rockefeller, to the establishment of centers of study on Latin America in the USA and in Europe" (60). Donoso also claims in his *Historia Personal del Boom* that the name given to that group of writers was coined from the outside and it is clear to see the exoticism contained in that onomatopoeic *boom*. King states further that the new studies and academic departments "were fundamental in generating critical works on the Boom and on many other aspects of politics and culture" (60). An excellent example of this is *Spanish American Literature since Independence* (1973), by Jean Franco, pioneering professor of Latin American literature, first at the University of Essex, then at Stanford University, and later at Columbia University. Two years later her book was translated into Spanish by Seix Barral. Once again, this Catalan press was demonstrating a growing interest for the transatlantic latitude.

Latin America—as a cultural space—has been strongly shaped by diverse and multidirectional migrations. The widespread exile of authors enriched Latin American art and literature by generating transcultural contact between varied artistic expressions and contrasting aesthetics. However, Peri Rossi was banned in her own country and her literature remained marginalized in Barcelona while the Boom was being celebrated. *Descripción de un Naufragio* subverts delicate components of hegemonic discourses such as patriarchy, heterosexuality, and male privilege. This book remained invisible to critics during those years. In hindsight, it constitutes a transgressive response to exile. Now it is included in her collected *Obra Poética*, but it had a very limited circulation at the time of publication.

Peri Rossi's experience as an exiled subject is an important autobiographical theme in her poetry. As a piece of cultural production, *Descripción de un Naufragio* cannot escape the historical events and economic conditions of its time. This self-referential work entails a delicate process of introspection. The self is dynamic in her poetry; the different poetic registers dialogue and negotiate constantly with their immediate reality. My interest is to analyze the different ways in which Peri Rossi confronts the question of exile. This theme brings her ethical and socio-political tenets to the study of her poetry. As well as exile, there is another recurring theme in her work: love; and there is a recurrent space: the sea. From the terrible loss of the home country to integration into the adoptive city, the self finds peace and a reconnection with the world through love (carnal, fraternal, intellectual love). Eroticism is presented as an alternative to forced displacement, while the sea takes on an important role in the different representations of the body. The poetic construction of the sea serves as a *liquid and visual stage* where the different characters flow. It helps them negotiate and recast the signs of exile, enabling a constant reconfiguration of the self (or the

many selves), as I will go on to explore here. The sea represents a plurality of meanings, enforcing the image of hybrid identities that Peri Rossi is determined to uncover.

In the preface to *Borderlands / La Frontera. The New Mestiza*, Gloria Anzaldúa expresses: "I am a border woman. I grew up between two cultures, the Mexican (with a heavy Indian influence) and the Anglo (as a member of a colonized people in our own territory)" (19), this statement challenges repressive discourses that stereotype and restrict expressions of national identity and ethnicity. Reading between the lines, Anzaldúa is also insisting on the importance of diversity in terms of language, sexuality, gender, social class, religion and social origin.

For Anzaldúa, epistemology, ontology and creativity are closely interrelated and cannot be seen or analyzed as separate elements. This approach is highly relevant to my research proposal regarding the body as a source for knowing, being, and creating:

> We are taught that the body is an ignorant animal; intelligence dwells only in the head. But the body is smart. It does not discern between external stimuli and stimuli from the imagination. It reacts equally viscerally to events from the imagination as it does to "real" events. (*Borderlands*, 59-60)

Through a transformational epistemology, ontology and aesthetics, Anzaldúa articulates her theory and practice with her processes as writer, activist and scholar. This implies that knowing, being, and creating *are* all at the same time, because they all *happen* simultaneously. This radical critical strand goes beyond the materialism of *flesh*. AnaLouise Keating, editor of Anzaldúa's posthumously published *Light in the Dark*, emphasizes how Anzaldúa empowers "spiritual, material, physical, and psychic […] aspects of a unified, infinitely complex reality" (xxx) and widens the conceptual framework of the body.

> [Anzaldúa] employs a non-anthropocentric lens and a broad definition of reality in which spirits are as real as dogs, cats, baseball bats, methane gas, doorknobs, bookshelves and everything else. But unlike object-oriented philosophers, who generally posit an extreme hyper-individualized realism in which all objects (including human beings) are, ultimately, independent and separated ("withdraw") from all others, Anzaldúa insists on the radical interrelatedness, interdependence, and sacredness of all existence. (xxxi)

These ethics rescue the diversity of the self and promote the right to be different. The self is not only a discourse; it is also a body and, simultaneously, a social (prosthetic, ethical, political) representation of consciousness. The body is, at the same time, consciousness and its cultural system. When Anzaldúa states that the self is a border, she is highlighting her hybrid identity. By embracing the different aspects of the self—sometimes even contradictory elements—she is persistently claiming a third space and "advocating for cultural diversity, the inclusion of sexuality in all academic and political production, and [calling] to social justice based on inclusion rather than exclusion" (Cantú and Hurtado in *Borderlands*, 7). The self, living on the Borders (and/or on its margins), is aware of a multiple identity and, at the same time, of its integrity.

> [The] mixture of races, rather than resulting in an inferior being, provides hybrid progeny, a mutable, more malleable species with a rich gene pool. From this racial, ideological, cultural and biological cross-pollinization, an "alien" consciousness is presently in the making—a new *mestiza* consciousness, *una conciencia de mujer*. It is a consciousness of the Borderlands. (Anzaldúa *Borderlands*, 99)

In *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (1990), García Canclini illustrates the positive repercussions that come with human mobility. This process results from complex changes in human societies, mainly due to multi-directional migration (from any point of the globe to another), social decentralization (the relationship between the countryside and urban areas morphs into a circuit: a circulatory regime less defined by an apparent center and its margins), and trans-nationalization (in terms of a global market). When a community migrates, it makes contact with the systems from that new space. It is inevitable that members of the community revisit the components of their social identity, such as sex, gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality. The experience of traveling to different countries brings opportunities for new forms of knowing, being and creating, as Anzaldúa proposes, i.e. physical displacement opens up possibilities of becoming aware of the border-location, as a hybrid identity. As a result, the culture is constant circulating between a faraway place of origin and the new space where the migrants now dwell, and contributes to changing and developing the new homeland, or *hostland*.

In this sense, exiles manifest a varied reconfiguration of their social identities: "immigrants often [do not] feel 'at home' [either] in their former country of origin or in their new homeland" (Cantú and Hurtado in *Borderlands*, 10). Peri Rossi explains the phases of her own process of exile in the prologue to *Estado de Exilio* (2003): "dolor-castración-integración-amor a la ciudad adoptiva" (10). This process is constantly present in her poetry. In *Descripción de un Naufragio* a sailor represents the first two steps: the anguish of running away, and castration. In Peri Rossi's later book, *Diáspora* (1976), a poetic voice travels through different European cities, and during this journey, the voice's awareness of being in exile is triggered. And finally, in *Estado de Exilio* a multiplicity of voices discover, in different ways, their love for the sanctuary city. This third book has a special significance.

Even though it was not published until 2003, Peri Rossi affirms that she wrote the poems in 1973, immediately after she first arrived in Barcelona. Despite the fact that the experience of exile is distant in time in these three books, the topic of travel, and especially of exile, is of major concern in her writing. A number of her books are connected to my research concerns about the cultural, social and political results of multi-directional migrations.

One notable feature in her writing is her constant call to denounce injustice, her combative position in the face of social inequality, and her condemnation of traditional gender roles. Peri Rossi criticizes the repression of eroticism, especially the patriarchal stereotypes of traditional female sexuality. As mentioned before, her work suffered censorship in Uruguay due to its transgressive nature and ironic tone, and she escaped with *Descripción de un Naufragio* in her baggage.

> Hui de mi país natal con un original en la maleta como única prenda: las páginas amarillas, celestes y verdes de *Descripción de un Naufragio*. Los colores pretendían dar una imagen de la emoción que cada poema quería transmitir: el amarillo de la melancolía, el celeste del mar y el verde de la esperanza. Siempre me ha parecido raro que los editores no impriman los libros en hojas de colores, no sólo por la belleza, sino por su capacidad de sugestión emocional. (*Poesía Reunida* 12)[13]

Peri Rossi proposes three specific lenses through which to read her poems: melancholy, sea and hope. These elements are indeed constantly present and they have different intersections with the process of exile. This collection of poems contains two layers: a social layer, and a more intimate layer. The social content of the poem denounces

[13] "I fled the country of my birth with an original copy, the only item in my suitcase: the yellow, blue and green pages of *Descripción de un Naufragio*. The colors were intended to reflect the emotion that each poem was trying to convey: the yellow of melancholy, the blue of the sea and the green of hope. It has always

the failure of Uruguay as a country; the shipwreck is an allegory of the social disaster the nation has suffered. In addition, this melancholic tone is linked to a reflection on her homeland's history. The second, more intimate layer of content portrays erotic-amorous passion as emancipation for the individual, a sanctuary for the self to achieve salvation in the middle of the great tragedy of the shipwreck. Love is a haven of rest and hope in the face of exile. In this early stage of her experience as an exile, we can already see the first signs of banishment that she will describe years later in *Estado de Exilio*. The fluid dynamic of the self is clearly noted in poem XVIII.

> En la cama,
>
> desde el extremo blanco de la página
>
> …
>
> Al entrar a la bahía,
>
> región de los pájaros alados
>
> los peces ciegos y las marsopas.[14]

The self awakens, literally, in the bed, and immediately focuses on the act of writing: "En la cama / desde el extremo blanco de la página." Later, the sailor expands the stage, transporting the reader to the immensity of the sea: "Al entrar a la bahía." At that point everything comes together: space, body, eroticism. The voice travels constantly from love and passion to the creative act of writing (*poïesis*), and later from the maritime stage to the social stage where political repression rules. The constant variations display simultaneous selves, revealing their complexity and hybridity. The text performs a discourse. It is part of its own defragmentation. The verses contain echoes and resonances from other lines.

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seemed strange to me that publishers don't print books on colored pages, not only for their beauty but for their capacity for emotional suggestion." (*Poesía Reunida* 12)

[14] "In bed, / from the white edge of the page / … / Entering the bay / region of winged birds, / blind fishes and porpoises."

Analyzing one stanza brings together all the themes of the poem, just as one poem encapsulates the outline of the whole book.

Body and space are closely associated. Human consciousness *occurs* to the fullest due to the experience of space. In this relationship, body and consciousness are inevitably and simultaneously integrated. According to philosopher Edward Casey, the experience of space is mobilized primarily through the body: "body and place belong together from the very beginning, their fate is linked–not only at the start but at subsequent stages as well" (45). The body is our guiding axis; the conscience travels where the body travels. In addition, the body leaves traces and transforms the spaces it passes through on its journey. In this way, each place, landscape, and architecture, every space *occurs* (as a human event). Space is not just a dimensional area or an abstract object for conceptualization: spaces are *with* us. The somatic experience happens in the space and the space happens through human experience. This *somatographic* concept, as described by Leo Cabranes-Grant, captures this experience precisely. In this expanded way of understanding space, the body becomes a circuit, like a constant occurrence, an open and plastic process. According to Anzaldúa, the body is a permeable borderland; it occupies intersectional spaces and is never static. As I mentioned before, this approach goes beyond mere anthropocentrism because the consciousness-body-space relationship entails an ethical stance and a joint responsibility. The body (*soma*-) leaves traces (-*graphos*) all along the path; and, during the journey, body and space change each other mutually and continually:

> Mirando hacia el golfo
> y orientando el timón al Sur.
> Toda esta parte está compuesta de subyugante geografía
> islas de vellones, muslos que embisten como olas,

dos piernas,

una al lado de la otra,

en concupiscente intimidad,

y entre ellas,

un riachuelo que clama por las noches.

(XVIII)[15]

"Je est un autre," wrote Arthur Rimbaud. Even though this concept of otherness is associated with a modern perspective of the human self and its multiplicity of being, the body-space interaction in this analysis renders a different proposition. Here I am referring to a wider understanding of being the *other* in relation to the space. In the lines above, the nouns that refer to space: "geografía," "olas," "riachuelo," are perfectly interrelated with words that refer to the body: "muslos," "piernas," and they are also part of the erotic scenery: "concupiscente intimidad," "clama por las noches." In the words of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari: "We are not in the world, we become with the world; we become by contemplating it. Everything is vision, becoming" (*What's Philosophy* 169). Body and space become together by having a mutual understanding.

In *The Freedom of the Migrant. Objections to Nationalism*, Vilém Flusser brings to our attention the fact that humanity has been settled for a relatively short period of time: "the process of giving up with our settledness […is] shown to be less eternal values than functions of agriculture and cattle breeding… Socioeconomically, the great majority of the population lived a seminomadic existence during the 1950s, following the harvest in misery, hunger and disease" (2-3, 10). Identity is to be constantly other, i.e. a nomad.

[15] "Looking towards the gulf / and steering the rudder to the South. / This whole area is composed of a seductive geography / islands of fleece, thighs charging like waves, / two legs, / side by side / in concupiscent intimacy, / and between them, / a stream that cries out at night."

The poetic voice in Peri Rossi's lines is in constant displacement, thus reflecting this nomadism. It moves forward to reveal another simultaneous layer of its reality:

Por el riachuelo puede pasar la pequeña embarcación.
Por la ventana, claramente, pude ver tu pie
de un largo tan pequeño que soñé
y recorrí las veinticinco leguas de tu cuarto
hasta el puerto donde hallé refugio.

(XVIII)[16]

Traveling by boat serves here as a metaphor for the sexual encounter. The outside: "riachuelo," "ventana," and sailing: "embarcación," "leguas," come into contact with the *other*: "tu pie," "tu cuarto." Delighted by the solidarity of this encounter, the nomad ceases the trip when he finds refuge in love: "el puerto." Coming from a desperate situation, this traveler interrupts his pain, his fears, his past and present with his beloved. However, he is also constantly aware of the political repression of his surroundings:

Detrás dejé navegación,
puentes claros,
asechanzas,
el general y la prisión.

(XVIII)[17]

These references are not only alluding to objects on the stage; all the components are associated with each other and together they construct a dynamic poetic image. The use of the grammatical gender draws attention towards the female body. Very soon, in poem IV, feminine nouns and inflections define part of the identity of the *other*: "De ella me dijeron:

[16] "Through the stream, the small boat could pass. / Through the window, I could clearly see your foot / so small that I dreamed / and traveled the 25 leagues from your room / to the port where I found refuge."

un trato ceremonioso nos separó /… / Creí reconocerla por el talle." She becomes the focus of the successive images. However, the gender of the protagonist remains ambiguous until poem X, when a masculine voice makes it implicit: "tanto la vi que quedé medio ciego." Given that in Spanish many grammatical categories (adjectives, determiners, pronouns) change their form depending on the noun, it is not an unintentional act on Peri Rossi's part to use ambiguity to make her protagonist non-binary while giving detailed images of the female lover. This ambiguity is an echo of the homoerotic passion that the author portrayed in her previous book of poems *Evohé* (1971), in which the poetic voice searches the word in a woman, and the woman in the word: finding her, loving her, and losing her.

Expanding on the concept of somatography, I propose using somatic geography to think about identity as a process, necessarily carried out in collaboration with the Earth, and as a way of describing the Earth through corporeal experience:

> Allí,
> al costado del golfo,
> dirigiendo la brújula hacia el Sur,
> país de los gametos
>
> (XIX)[18]

These lines present geographical location as an important component of social identity. The cardinal directions are frequently repeated in this collection. The "Sur" is South America: the austral subcontinent par excellence. Twelve countries with specific cultural differences but closely connected in both geographical and historical terms. When the poetic voice mentions these geographical references, it is inevitable to link them with social identity, collective memory, and an alternative history that condemns political

[17] "I left behind sailing / clear bridges, / traps and snares / the general and prison."
[18] "There, / on the side of the gulf / pointing the compass to the South, / land of the gametes."

repression. The poetic register revisits identity not only in terms of space, but also in terms of intersectionality, through a revision of time. It presents a chronology from colonization until the 20th century present, including Andean civilization, Spanish explorers, conquerors, ethnocide, miscegenation, independence, political repression and dictatorships. All the complexity of the self intersects in this geographical/historical revision. The poetic voice follows the footprints of other travelers through space and time—which come together in a meaningful relationship with the body in transit. The journey occurs on both levels: across the sea and through national history. The self is deeply aware of that mix, of the multiple identities conformed by race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality and national origin.

Gaea or Gaia, the ancestral Mother Earth of the Greeks, is the compassionate goddess of all creatures. The deep conception of 'Madre Tierra' is represented differently across South American indigenous cosmogonies: she is Pachamama for the Quechua and Aymara, and Ñuke Mapu for the Mapuche. This figure appears in the vibrant images of nature and creation in the following lines:

> y hasta —perdónalos, Señor— tenían unos dioses
> de los ríos y de las fuentes,
> dioses de los manantiales, las corrientes de agua,
> las nubes y collados,
> y a otros los llamaban dioses de la salida del sol
> y del ocaso,
> dioses de la vid y las cosechas,
> del tiempo malo y del tiempo bueno,
> de la lluvia y de las estaciones,
> un dios para sembrar y otro para cosechar,

dios del sueño y de la vigilia,

dioses de los montes, el viento y las fontanas,

dios del muérdago y del trigo

("Carta del Navegante")[19]

This profound relationship with the Earth allows us to think in terms of an ancestral affinity with the environment. Therefore, forced migration implies a crisis for the self. It completely disrupts the self's relationship with its home space. This poem "Carta del Navegante" alludes to the "Cartas de Relación" that Hernán Cortés wrote to the Spanish royals doña Juana and her son Carlos V. The sarcasm in Peri Rossi's version denounces the Eurocentric ignorance of the poetic sailor. The repressive discourse of this conquistador validated violence and slavery. The Amerindian populations were dehumanized, their cultural production devaluated, their bodies became property. The traveler continues:

ni construían barcos como nosotros

ni sabían leer ni escribir

con lo cual demostraban ser un pueblo de salvajes.

Por todo ello decidimos tomarlos como esclavos.

Siguiendo vuestro consejo,

a las mujeres las tomé a todas,

haciendo posesión de ellas por Vuestra Excelencia y por

mí mismo

con lo cual comprenderá, Señora, que hube de poseerlas dos

veces

[19] "Forgive them, Lord, for they had gods / of rivers and their sources, / gods of springs and streams, / clouds and mountain passes / and even others they called gods of the sun / and of the twilight / of vine and the harvest, / of good and bad weather, / of the rain and the seasons, / a god to sow and another to harvest, / a god of sleep and a god of vigil, / gods of the hills, the wind and fountains, / god of the wheat and of the mistletoe."

This is a crucial moment in the history of the continent. The mestizo body and the brown body became minoritarian subjectivities, and distorted Eurocentric ideologies founded a racist patriarchy that determined what it considers meaningful knowledge, beingness and creation, and erases that which it does not. Modernity has created the illusion that the Enlightenment is the foundation of Christian and/or republican societies. However, as Walter Mignolo has emphasized, the massacres that occurred during colonialism—and which still abound in modern colonial systems—must not be omitted, because they enabled the development of modern projects. That is the case of the Americas, an imposition of the Western extension of Europe beyond its borders, in all its darkness and light. The body is our first territory, and bodies of color have been colonized for centuries. Colonialism brought an epistemological crisis out of proportion to indigenous thought. Western thought was truly a local thought (Mignolo), although it became global, expanded and legitimated by the violent processes of colonialization. Even today, despite having failed again and again, republican systems rule over the Americas, leading people towards totalitarianism.

Language also became part of these processes of racialization and xenophobia: "y esa gente (¿serían nuestros hermanos?) / hablaban extraños idiomas, / lenguas raras con sonidos de pájaros y de ramas."[20] However, even at the heart of all that ignorance and pillage, if we dig a bit deeper we see that Mother Earth takes the stage again: "pájaros," "ramas, "ríos," "fuentes," "manantiales," "agua," "nubes," "collados," "sol," and "ocaso." An abundance of natural elements predominate in these images.

Taking our cue from *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1972), by Deleuze and Guattari, we can see that Rossi's poetic characters are experiencing part of the process that she herself lived through (pain, castration, integration, love for the adopted

[20] "Those people—are they our brothers and sisters? / they spoke strange languages, / odd languages like the twitter of birds and the sound of branches"

city). But they are doing so in their own terms: loss, search, discovery and re-appropriation of a new space. Along with this, there is also a transfiguration of the understanding of identity. The aspects that may previously have referred to *belonging* and *permanence* are not viable anymore. What did it mean to be Argentine, Chilean or Uruguayan for these literary travelers and their communities? Especially when Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, simultaneously and dynamically, have a *here* (a particular geographical space), as much as a *there* (new communities beyond the national territory.)

The three components in Peri Rossi's poetry that I mentioned before (exile, love and the sea) will be part of the self's quest for social and cultural mechanisms for enduring suffering and deprivations. The poetic self searches for refuge in three places: historical memory, eroticism and collective memory. These three refuges appear recurrently and are interconnected throughout the book, as in the following stanza:

El mar.

El temor a la inmensidad

El arte de navegar

La facultad de amar

La soledad.

(XIII)[21]

In these verses there is a wide variety of registers; this stanza contains all the different themes developed in this collection relating to the process of exile:

"El mar" – the unknown

"El temor a la inmensidad" – to go into exile

"El arte de navegar" – the course of life

[21] "Sea. / Dread of its immensity / The art of sailing / The capacity to love / Loneliness."

"La facultad de amar" – erotic-amorous passion

"La soledad" – initial vulnerability in exile

The intimate register and different social experiences are fused here. The voice migrates, in apparent disorder, from one theme to another. In this sense, this voice has a hybrid identity, not only because the navigator is a migrant but because it is in human nature to be a nomad. The processes of cultural appropriation are dynamic in of themselves, but travel makes this condition more legible. The sense of alienation displayed in the human condition acquires positive signs when it opens possibilities to de-naturalize repressive discourses.

1.2. Transgression through Eroticism

The navigator finds a haven in love. It is then that all the elements—the boat, the sea, and sailing—become luminous, conspiratorial, and kind:

Como si toda la calma del mundo
se hubiera alojado en su cuerpo, en su piel,
para tenerla así,
muda,
blanca,
estacionada,
aliviada del tiempo
de citas y de ciudades.

(V)[22]

[22] "As if all the peace in the world / had inhabited her body, her skin, / to feel like that: / not saying a thing, / so white, / so still, / released from the time / of meetings and cities."

The amorous passion relocates the sailor in the somatic experience. When love and female body join together, the space takes the stage through adjectives: "muda," "blanca," "estacionada," "aliviada." In these images there are very few conjugated verbs. These occasions rescue the sailor from the disorientation that he has been suffering due to repression and forced displacement. As aforementioned, the human body is a complex system; a source for knowing, being, and creating; a borderland where multiple geographies, sociopolitical and economical practices, cultures and languages cohabit. However, enforced Western dichotomies disintegrate this fluid condition of the self: rational mind/primitive mind, public space/private space, female/masculine, us/them, embodiment/abstract thought. Binary oppositions generate interlocking systems of oppression and power—such as sexism, xenophobia, racism, heterosexism, homophobia and class exploitation; and systems of privilege—such as patriarchy, heterosexuality and male privilege. As Anzaldúa asserts, "dichotomy is the root of all violence" (*Borderlands*, 59).

Different forms of oppression or social justice problems are not equally experienced by everybody. Many of the phobias and bigotries listed above are often overlapping, creating multiple levels of social injustice. Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge explains that the framework of intersectionality opens an understanding of:

> power relations through a lens of mutual construction. In other words, people's lives and identities are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways. Moreover, race, class, gender, sexuality, age, disability, ethnicity, nation, and religion, among others, constitute interlocking, mutually constructing or intersecting systems of power. Within intersectional frameworks, there is no pure racism or sexism. Rather, power relations of racism and sexism gain meaning in relation to one another. (26)

This methodology also recognizes the complexity of varying social context: "intersectional analysis reveals how violence is not only understood and practiced within discrete systems of power, but also how it constitutes a common thread that connects racism, colonialism, patriarchy, and nationalism, for example" (Hill and Bilge 55). Kimberlé Crenshaw helped developed this term of intersectionality in academia to foster "deeper sensibility about the need for new explanations about the shape and effects of violence against women of color" (48). Intersectionality and Borderlands theory are important paradigms, both in academic scholarship and praxis. They both de-center hierarchies and expand the conceptual tools for analyzing the complexity of human experience. In addition, Chela Sandoval emphasizes, "Many writers understand love as a 'breaking' through whatever controls in order to find 'understanding and community': it is described as 'hope' and 'faith' in the potential goodness of some promised land" (201).

Eroticism is not the expected response to coping with exile. However, expressions of sexuality in Peri Rossi's poetry are not innocent at all. If patriarchy is a hierarchical system that sanctions sexuality, restricts gender socialization and privileges masculinity as hegemonic center, the control of sexuality is a powerful form of resistance. Resilient love is the core of insubordination in the poetic voice of *Descripción de un Naufragio*.

Self-awareness "is a way of balancing, of mitigating duality" (*Borderlands*, 41). This is how hope intersects with Eros to create a haven for the sailor. Peri Rossi saved the spirit of hope in the green pages she had in her baggage the day she boarded the *Giulio Cesare*. This reminds me of Elpis, the last spirit left in Pandora's jar. Hope is the last thing to die in the baggage of the exile. The libido reconnects the person with the environment. The shipwreck survivor relocates the somatic experience in a bucolic space in the presence of the

beloved; this becomes possible because the body is resistance. Decolonial love inspires new and profound possibilities. The lovers stop time and tragedy when they are together:

A cuatro días de mar
me di cuenta
que hacía cuatro días
no escuchara una palabra
más que el ruido del mar
el parloteo de las aves
el moroso lenguaje de las olas.
Después de habernos amado cuatro días
te pregunté tu nombre.

(XVII)[23]

The dynamic self is constantly changing, there is no universal concept of body. In the stanza above, the sailor seduces the female body as the poet seduces the numen, i.e. the beloved becomes the poem and the poem becomes the beloved. Mind, body and emotions together build a rhetoric of resistance, a new form of consciousness, as another way for the self to cope with exile. As Chela Sandoval states, "love is reinvented as a political technology, as a body of knowledge, arts, practices, and procedures for re-forming the self and the world" (4).

The linguistic strategies that Peri Rossi explored thoroughly in *Evohé* appear here also. The act of love is fused with the creativity of writing poetry but, in the case of *Descripción de un Naufragio,* the writer adds the maritime metaphor. The poet goes over the woman's body like a shipbuilder gives shape to the boat. The dual images—woman-boat,

sailing-loving and sailing-living—are very important components of the historical review proposed by the different fragmentary voices in these poems. Anzaldúa claims that "language is a homeland" (*Borderland*, 77). Together with other feminist movements from the 1960s, Chicana feminism confronts dominant narratives and embraces new forms of using language. Chicano Spanish, Tex-Mex Spanish or Spanglish as a border tongue is an excellent example. Using denaturalizing labels (Chicano identity, Black Power, being a woman, being a feminist) is another way to celebrate hybridity. Anzaldúa narrates how shocked she was when she first heard a woman saying "*nosotras*." Because masculine grammatical gender determines plural forms in Spanish, for Anzaldúa, the use of the feminine grammatical gender is a form of resistance: "Wild tongues can't be tamed, they can only be cut out" (*Borderland*, 76). In Peri Rossi's poetry, ambiguity in the use of gender poses the powerful fluidity of the subject and coincides with the de-naturalization of the feminine body. The poetic voice has a special plasticity when it goes from one metaphor to another:

> Mojada por la lluvia
> que goteó una y otra vez sobre su piel
> abriéndole los poros como puertas
> — por donde toda mar entró —.
>
> (V)[24]

Body, boat and love are all present at the same time. The body is liquid and the boat is porous: they each allow elements of the landscape to be part of them and vice versa. The poetic voice loves and creates the lover, but also venerates this creation, as in the following

[23] "After four days at sea / I realized / that in four days / I hadn't heard a word / but the sound of the sea / the chatter of the birds / the languid language of the waves. / After loving each other for four days / I asked you your name."

lines: “Instalada en la casa / como el fuego del hogar / como un antepasado mudo,” “Lacrada. / Cerrada para mí como un secreto,” “Sagrada. / Inviolable como una diosa” (V). This could be a classical poetic voice, like Petrarch praising Laura, yet just as Petrarch goes beyond love for Laura in his *Canzoniere*, Peri Rossi introduces themes other than love, such as ethics and politics. This love story could also follow the tradition of Dante and Beatrice since, in *Descripción de un Naufragio*, the sailor and his lover first met in childhood, as some versions of the story say Dante first met Beatrice. In this case, however, their love is requited in adulthood, and it is political circumstance that will separate them. Love is a leitmotif for the sailor, and literature is a refuge in which he tries to understand this failed relationship (as in the *Dolce stil novo*).

As the title of the book makes clear, the voyage will end in tragedy. The process does not end with the amorous encounter, but with castration. This Freudian and Lacanian term refers to the complex impossibility of satisfaction in the development of sexuality; within the context of exile, the term is connected to the forced renunciation of the *motherland*. Even if citizenship is already a contradictory site of illusory inclusion (Lowe 23), it resolves the need for belonging and the identification of the subject with a national territory. Castration then, comes to the poetic scene in the form of the repression that prevails in the national public space: “— Ha venido un general — dijiste —, preguntándonos por ti. / «Es un náufrago» dijimos, «abandonó papeles». / ¿Creyéralo el general?” (XVII).[25] The female body-boat-love metaphor changes to contradictory images like sail to survive/to die. The poetic voice loses hope, condemns (in plural) destruction, and expresses weariness: “Ya no

[24] “Drenched by rain. / Dripping again and again on her skin / Her pores opening like doors / —until the whole sea had entered her—.”

[25] “—A general has come—you said—, asking us about you. / ‘He survived a shipwreck,’ we said, ‘and left his papers behind.’ / Would the general believe us?”

aguantamos más el olor a muerto" (VI), "Y el mar, al que no podemos obligar a mudar de sitio, / correrlo hacia las islas que hemos perdido en el naufragio" (VII).[26]

On this boat trip, the migrants cannot complete their process of relocation. The experience of somatic geography is disrupted in the sense that the individuals lack the opportunity to freely experience their bodies within their spaces and in their revision of their national history. The poetic voice suggests that the erotic experience is linked to ethical and political stances. By the end of the book, during the shipwreck, the woman saves herself without looking back. The sailor is left alone on the edge of the shipwreck:

> Los botes se alejaban
> ella tenía los brazos hinchados como velas
> y remaba segura y firmemente
> con el tremendo instinto de las madres
> y de los sobrevivientes.
>
> (XXXIV)[27]

The traveler sees how she saves herself, leaving him alone. In this loneliness, everything seems to be lost:

> Al grito de «Sálvese quien pueda»
> descomponíanse las parejas,
> separábanse los hijos de los padres,
> los hermanos de las hermanas,
> desvinculábanse las familias
>
> (XXXV)[28]

[26] "We can't stand the smell of the dead anymore" (VI), "We can't force the sea to move elsewhere. / We can't send it off to the islands that we lost in the shipwreck" (VII).

[27] "The boats were moving away / her arms swelled like sails / as she rowed assuredly and determinedly / with the mighty instinct of mothers / and survivors."

Here, however, the poetic register switches to the female voice, in order to include both sides of the story. These verses depict the complexity of this painful stage, even though there is no reconciliation between political repression, displacement and the right to survive. While eroticism was a refuge, the plastic quality of the consciousness deploys the passion as a prosthetic mechanism. However, this resource is not enough because the conditions surpass the subject. In other words, historical circumstances hurt personal freedom. The woman defends her right to be alive:

> De haber mirado
> de haber vuelto los ojos
> como la mujer de Lot
> ya no podría saltar
> pertenecería al pasado
> anclada entre las redes del barco, tu capitán, el moho de las
> sillas
> …
> la vida era una hipótesis de salto,
> quedarse, una muerte segura.
>
> (XXXVI)[29]

Meanwhile, the poetic voice reclaims his loneliness and strives for a different amorous construction through memory. The sailor recalls his lover with a bucolic image—instead of being concerned for his own fragility in such dangerous political circumstances: "Todavía creo estar viendo aquel tu pálido vestido / desplegado en el aire bruno de la noche,

[28] "'Save yourselves,' shouted the captain, / couples were splitting up, / children were separated from parents, / brothers from sisters, / families were breaking apart."

/ volada hacia los botes, a ultramar, en lontananza" (XXXVII). In the prologue to *Estado de Exilio*, the author adds the following: "Por entonces [al llegar a Barcelona en 1973] decía que lo importante no era sobrevivir, sino cómo. Sigo pensando lo mismo: hay formas de sobrevivir que no valen la pena, porque nos dejan sin principios, es decir, sin identidad" (9). The body, being connected to the cultural, social and political context, is in constant change. The configuration of identity becomes more complex during exile. While trying to be oneself and looking for a reference of identification, the exile will find herself or himself more unstable. Such identification is carried out while the body has no physical limits. The subject invariably learns from all the cultural elements around them, especially from the *other*. During the voyage into exile, this process becomes more complex, because disorientation takes precedence on the ambiguous stage of the sea.

1.3 The Immensity of the Sea

> *But the skin of the earth is seamless.*
> *The sea cannot be fenced,*
> el mar *does not stop at borders.*
> *To show the white man what she thought of his arrogance,*
> Yemayá *blew that wire fence down.*
>
> Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands / La Frontera*

The salvation of the shipwreck will take place in an ambivalent, tragic, indomitable space: the sea. The sea has been a space of reconfiguration throughout human history. The history of travelers who have crossed the Atlantic Ocean allows me to think of this liquid space as a place of negotiation: where kings, pirates and Vikings displayed their supremacy and ambitions; where nations charted courses to expand their identities and territories. Nevertheless, there is more to humans' relationship with the sea than power or commerce.

[29] "If I had looked back / if I had turned to look / like Lot's wife / I wouldn't be able to jump / I would belong to the past / clinging to the nets of the boat, with your captain, the moldy chairs / … / life was an

The blue waters have been crucial for cultural (and transcultural) exchanges. Explorers, exiles, shipwreck survivors, diplomatic corps, tourists, pirates, navigators: all forms of human mobility have left traces in the sea for future travelers. In this sense, I am interested in the sea as a fluid and plastic stage where the self negotiates different Borders to find new meanings for living. In the case of Peri Rossi's poetic representations, the fugitive on the boat and the traveler in the European city both illustrate this transcultural discourse.

The sea has been a historical setting in the configuration of the Hispanic world for more than five hundred years. The body of displaced literary characters in *Descripción de un Naufragio* trace, on their maritime voyage, the journeys of generations of travelers. Right after the dedication, the book of poems begins with this verse: "Julio, 1870.–Y esa tierra fugitiva que día a día se nos va" (I). This introduction acts as a ship's log, intersecting writing genres: historical text, *Diario de un Navegante*, and poetry. This first verse expresses the multilayered approach of the book. The multiple registers write about writing. The work in itself is a border-location.

At the beginning of the poetic story, the body of the sailor feels lost in the blue waters, but finds a place of refuge in the beloved, and only then does the sea acquire a positive meaning: "Está distante el mar, y sin embargo, nos rodea más y más" (II), the poetic voice is ambiguous, the sea appears like an island and generates an image of asphyxia and suffocation. After a few introductory short poems, the reader finds a longer, more complex poem about love. The sailor releases all his passion in these pages about the woman and her body. The voice describes the female body with intensity, using a marine metaphor. Paradoxically, through typography, the reader is made a prisoner of this passion. As the

hypothesis of jumping, / to stay meant certain death."

voice intensifies in tone, the typography overflows the paper. It displays more and more attention to formal distribution, creating a flow with indentation:

Si espuma,

si paloma.

Echada desde siempre

en un acceso de la playa

región de los espíritus

donde se dan cita las arenas

(V)[30]

Like the ocean itself, the typography swells and subsides in accordance with the intensity of the sailor's tone. This poetic liquid space is also an epistemological space where characters experience transformations in solidarity with one another. The plural opens the encounter with the other. The poetic voice changes register from first person singular to first person plural. It reveals itself to be a member of a community, delivering the outcry of the collective voice:

No fue nuestra culpa si nacimos en tiempos de penuria.

Tiempos de echarse al mar y navegar.

Zarpar en barcos y remolinos

huir de guerras y tiranos

al péndulo

a la oscilación del mar.

(XVI)[31]

[30] "Like sea foam / like a dove / laying down forever / in an entrance to the beach / region of spirits / where shorelines come together."

[31] "We can't be blamed: we were born in bad times. / A time to put out to sea, to set sail / in ships, past whirlpools far / away from wars and tyrants / swinging like a pendulum / upon the restless waves."

The plural voice issues a social protest against forced migration. It alludes to the people as a vivid testimony of a nation; it refers to a nation that has collapsed. According to García Canclini, when otherness has a place in studies of travel and globalization, then we can conceive of both phenomena as open processes that can lead us in different directions instead of having only a single answer. Solidarity, hope and love are recurrent responses in exile narratives, and they all juxtapose with political repression—and with the terrible consequences such as prison, torture, forced disappearance, exile. As I mentioned in the previous section, the love encounter is the key to this quest; the body responding to the other body is the guiding axis and the opportunity for the nomad to reconnect himself with hope.

The sea is also the site where the self-being puts the pieces back together. This self is aware of the historical moment and his historical role. The displacement hurts and, in response to this painful process, the body seeks new references in another body. These verses deploy an obvious and urgent need to express the individual experience of the voyage to the place of exile:

> A todos aquellos navegantes
> argonautas de un país en ruinas
> desaparecidos en diversas travesías,
> varias,
> que un día emprendieron navegaciones
> de inciertos desenlaces
>
> (Dedicatoria)[32]

The poetic voice reveals this tribute to all those who stayed behind during the journey. The book comes full circle, closing with the same theme: "Relación de Tripulantes

[32] "To all sailors / Argonauts from a ruined country / who disappeared during many journeys, / numerous, / who set sail on voyages / of uncertain outcomes."

que Participaron en el Naufragio," the title again refers to a historical text, but the poetic voice transforms the reader's expectation by offering a piece of hybrid writing that has the form of poetry, the unstoppable flow of the sea and the open wound of banishment:

> me vienen a la memoria ardida
>
> como olas a bordo
>
> los nombres de los compañeros muertos / desaparecidos
>
> en travesía de mares y de países
>
> lanzados a la noche
>
> al agua a la intemperie
>
> sin botes y sin remos
>
> sin ropa que vestir
>
> ni comida que comer[33]

The tone is severe. The act of naming "muertos / desaparecidos" embraces compassion, returns the victims' humanity, makes them part of history and the collective memory. The poetic voice highlights the impact that the level of violence and political repression are having on the subject and the social fabric. The last line de-centers hierarchies, "Todos los otros nombres aparecen en los diarios," giving voice to those who do not have the privilege of being named and embodied through the written word.

1.4 Conclusion: Writing from the Borders of Exile

Borders are "in a constant state of transition" (Anzaldúa *Borderland*, 25). *Descripción de un Naufragio* crosses the borders of writing poetry. The poetic voice introduces varying registers and tones; it first appears as an ambiguous narrator, and later it

[33] "they come to my stinging memory / like waves on the deck / the names of dead / missing comrades / crossing seas and countries / launched into the night / into the water, under the open sky / with no boats and no paddles / no clothes to wear / or food to eat."

becomes sailor, lover, collective memory, explorer, conquistador, boat, woman, national tragedy, and ends as a spokesperson. Through that flow of changes, this poetry embodies hybridity and dissident consciousness.

In this collection of poems there are two aspects that are linked to the representation of multi-directional migrations: the somatic experience of the voyage, and the ways in which the characters relearn their body language as part of both a migratory dynamic and a hybrid reality. The author represents the experience of body, space and time through forced and imaginary displacement (both in the sea and in historical revisionism). However, the human body has remained at the margins of epistemological spaces, and there are many barriers that obstruct its visibility. This is especially true of the female body, whose visibility is primarily obstructed by violence and patriarchy. But on top of that, factors such as skin color, mother tongue, or a cultural heritage that is not part of the dominant order, can also generate bias and stigmatization.

On the other hand, the poetic representation of the voyage into exile intersects with the existential alienation of modern human beings, particularly with the different levels of marginalization that women experience. Female bodies are marginalized by patriarchal society. The versatile elements of *Descripción de un Naufragio* are part of a wider picture that encompasses the many signs of being in exile. This book remained at the backs of bookstores for many years, partly because it was poetry among the novels of the Boom, partly because as a woman and a lesbian the author was overshadowed by privileged male writers, and in part because its lyric transgressions, erotic exaltation and irony made it a nuisance for the literary canon.

The climate of political repression and migration are inextricably linked, and they are both important components in the cultural production of Latin America. This is clear from

the diversity of literary characters that feature in texts from the region. In the poetic space of Peri Rossi's work, the characters face new ways of comprehending their own bodies, deconstructing oppressive discourses, and conceptualizing and traversing spaces. Thus they modify their own epistemological systems. We can understand this as a response to violent discourses that reinforce isolation, marginalization and stigmatization. The human body develops the ability to understand multiple social realities.

Along with the fictional elements outlined above, I am also interested in unveiling the interrelation of body, migration and power relations in the context of violence. The brutality of authoritarian regimes denies a society its right to know, understand and express itself critically. By physically punishing their political enemies, the dictatorship damages a complex network of symbolism implied within the bodies of artists, writers, journalists, intellectuals, migrants and any citizens who suffer any form of political repression. When a totalitarian regime expels, *disappears*, or kills a citizen, the society not only grieves for the tragedy of losing a valuable human life, but also for losing their right to know the truth and their right to freedom of speech. The body is not just flesh and bone, the body is interconnected to a culture and a conscience; it forms part of multiple systems of life.

In the next chapter I expand this debate by analyzing the representation of different forms of political violence and different schemes of somatic responses. The maritime metaphor serves once more as a commanding stage from which the citizenry contends with the official history and opens a debate on the paradoxes of absence/presence and violence/memory. As revealed in Daniel Moyano's writing, the stories of the victims of the last military junta in Argentina embodied post-traumatic violence/memory, articulated issues of restitution, and contested the paradoxes of binary and exclusionary notions that validate corporeality punishment.

2. Going into exile: Rethinking the Body in *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas* by Daniel Moyano[34]

¿A dónde van los desaparecidos?
Busca en el agua, en los matorrales.
¿Por qué es que desaparecen?
Porque no todos somos iguales.
¿Cuándo vuelve el desaparecido?
Cada vez que lo trae el pensamiento.
¿Cómo se llama al desaparecido?
Una emoción apretando por dentro.

"Adónde van los desaparecidos," Rubén Blades ft. Fabulosos Cadillacs,

No supieron medir ni el amor de las madres, ni la desesperación de las madres. Seguimos yendo a la Plaza. Y no hubo una sola Azucena, hubo cientos y hay cientos de Azucenas ahora.[35]

René Epelbaum, Asociación Madres de la Plaza de Mayo

A 14-year-old child looks towards Río de la Plata, a silent witness to the state terrorism of the Dirty War period (1976-1983). It is the "Reconstrucción del Retrato de Pablo Míguez," by artist Claudia Fontes (2010), a polished stainless steel commemorative sculpture that floats and reflects the silver waters of the river at Parque de la Memoria, on the outskirts of the city of Buenos Aires. The child it depicts, Pablo Míguez Márquez, was kidnapped and *disappeared* in 1977. Thousands of victims were thrown, like Pablo, into military aircrafts known as "vuelos de la muerte" or "vuelos sin puerta"[36] and dragged away by the current. Like a polished mirror reflecting the wide range of the river, the powerful representation of the boy was conceived for this site, where his body once cried out for memory, truth and justice. It is a tribute to the victims of forced disappearance. During the

[34] I am grateful to professors Marcelo Casarín and Cecilia Corona Martínez from the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba for their valuable time during my trips to Argentina, and for their insightful conversations about Moyano's life and work.

[35] Azucena Villaflor de Vicenti was leader and founder of the struggles of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo. She was kidnapped and *disappeared* by the military forces on December 10, 1977 (the same that the world commemorates Human Rights Day). Her remains were exhumated, identified and cremated in 2003, and her ashes were buried next to the pyramid in Plaza de Mayo.

[36] Death flights were a common practice during the Chilean and Argentine dictatorships. They were a form of extrajudicial execution of political prisoners and illegally imprisoned citizens. Victims were thrown from helicopters or airplanes into rivers, lakes and oceans, or—in the case of Chile—onto the high peaks of the Andes. Some of those bodies washed up along the coast and were buried in common graves. The forensic

Dirty War—the so called Proceso de Reorganización Nacional by the military junta—at least five hundred minors were kidnapped, *disappeared* together with their parents or born in captivity. In total, approximately thirty thousand people suffered forced disappearance. The sculpture forms part of the collection of monuments in the park. As an aesthetic representation of a child who suffered imprisonment and forced disappearance, it is also a political representation that nurtures collective memory.

I open the chapter on Argentina with this public sculpture in order to thematize contemporary perspectives of the dictatorship years. In the aftermath of the military junta, Argentine society produced multiple sites and counter-sites to a nationalist culture and repressive imaginaries. These cultural productions interrogate the prevailing political violence in Latin America, an issue that reappears in Chapter 3, in regards to Chile. The bronze representation of Pablo Míguez embodies the tensions of an antagonist binary absence/presence. It materializes the injustice of the absence and constitutes a tribute to the urgency of that presence. The physical body is gone, but it left painful traces that activate collective memory and activism. The sculpture challenges a blatant discourse that prevailed during the junta, which not only denied dreadful crimes, but literally disappeared all corporeal evidence. During the years of the dictatorship, most of the applications for *habeas corpus* of political prisoners were turned down, and the public outcry against illegal detentions, forced transfers, forced disappearances, and the kidnapping of babies and children was belittled by military authorities. The catholic church, meanwhile, refused to accept any level of involvement and showed no solidarity in attempting to uncover the truth. In civil and corporeal aspects, the state flagrantly *disappeared* thousands of bodies, abducted

investigation and identification of these bodies was key to the trial of the juntas for their crimes against humanity.

minors, and expelled thousands of people from the country, dismissing them from the political site of citizenry.

The spaces of memory and human rights in Argentina are the outcome of processes of collective *memorialization*, which, in the terms put forward by Ana Guglielmucci and Loreto López, implies the public intervention and construction of memory, with the initiative of the civil society and the state. Creating a public memory of the violent years of the dictatorship allows the society to confront the present and develop a critical analysis of contemporary conflicts and forms of violence, both old and new. In the silence of the silver waters, the figure of a child seeks its place in the world, creating a rift in the official history and providing a site of memory for future generations.

To what extent can a literary work reproduce a site of remembrance as efficaciously as a tangible monument by a river? What kind of embodiment is mobilized by a textual pondering of absence, death, and memory? The particular story of Pablo Míguez, as well as the fictional representations of individual victims in a novel, both serve as material counter-sites that rely on the *permanence* of plastic art and of the written word to relate alternative histories. They also constitute the symbolic restitution of unrepresented, silenced bodies. These histories regain visibility through material representations and situated embodiments (both the sculpture and the book as cultural devices), and nurture collective images, narratives, sites, memories, events. Aesthetic representations open ways in the present to reimagine the national culture and national public space.

In this chapter, I am interested in the discussion of the discursive constitution of subjectivity through the conceptual body-human-citizen trilogy.[37] I have based this

[37] As mentioned in the Introduction, I use this concept as a triad to express the way in which the body refers to a human being who is subject to rights as a citizen. By punishing political opponents, the junta eliminates these three simultaneous possibilities of the subject. Citizenship is a social category related to nation, but I am following on from León Rozitchner in referring to the material relationship between the

exploration on an analysis of *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas* (1983, *The Book of Vessels and Tempests*), by Argentine writer Daniel Moyano Bellini (1930-1992), particularly regarding the diverse signs of exile present in the configuration of subjects dealing with the effects of political repression. At times of hegemonic military authority, the discourse that governs and administrates citizenship is one of repression and exclusion. This is crucial to determining the configuration of the national "body," and the terms in which "membership" of the national project is defined. To create an image of a nation as a homogeneous entity, the military junta forged a simulacrum of lineal progress and shaped the depuration of the social body.

The authoritarian regime conceptualized "national identity" through dyadic vertical terms, considering the subject to be a fragmented being, and excluding certain identities via reductionism, like the mind/body opposition that I will discuss later. Therefore, a body was not necessarily recognized as a human being—cosified, prisoners and survivors of military repression actually struggled to justify the trials based on human rights violations—nor as a citizen, and were therefore stripped of their civil rights. Citizenship is a contradictory site of struggle. On the one hand the state enfranchises the subject within the national-public space; however, it also determines what constitutes a valid memory, what we must forget, what rights we can exercise, and where we can dwell. It is in this sense that the national state administrates subjectivities and marginalizes unrepresentable versions of the history.

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subject and the territory, which is not only the basis of nationality but also an element of cultural production. Since the violent and segregationist discourse of a totalitarian regime eliminates the subject/territory relationship, the right to belong is erased, while the materiality of the body, citizen rights and human rights are all endangered at the same time. Even though the idea of homeland today is different, due to the complex migration phenomena of the past century, the concept of human appeals to the responsibility that any state has to protect all human lives. In this sense, international justice considers the principle of universal jurisdiction as an essential tool, one that made the Spanish cases against Pinochet and the Argentine juntas possible. The type of crimes that occurred under dictatorships are prosecuted under universal jurisdiction over genocide, crimes

2.1 Vessels and Tempests of the Argentine Dictatorship

Somos hijos y nietos de exiliados. He tomado conciencia
de lo que significa el exilio; antes nunca supe valorarlo.
En México me he dado cuenta de que toda la cultura precolombina
es un gigantesco exilio, el exilio de una cultura que fue destruida.
El latinoamericano no tiene su cultura, porque ésta fue mutilada.
Ahí está la búsqueda de una identidad; es lo que más preocupa
consciente e inconscientemente a todos los escritores
latinoamericanos. Buscamos, porque no sabemos qué somos.

Daniel Moyano, in interview with Rita Gnutzmann Borris

Political persecution, kidnapping, illegal detention and holding in captivity, torture and sexual violence, forced transfer, forced disappearance and extrajudicial killing, the expulsion and banishment of civilians: all were common procedures of the armed forces during the military dictatorships in the Southern Cone. Such atrocious crimes destroyed the social fabric and also made evident the delicate system that is damaged when the state harms a single human body. To understand the literary representation of different forms of violent repression, this chapter aims to promote a reflection on peripheral perspectives of exile, torture, and forced disappearance in the memories of survivors, as voiced by three fictional characters in Moyano's work: Rolando, Sandra and Contardi. My particular interest is to analyze these occurrences within the dynamic of the transatlantic journey into forced displacement.

The violent phenomena depicted in the novel is only one aspect of the effects of the repressive apparatus during the military regimes that caused a profound and lingering pain within Argentine society. It is portrayed in a number of cultural productions, both by writers and artists who remained in the country, and those who went into exile. These issues address topics that demand critical studies around multiple expressions of minoritarian subjectivities, especially the construction of identity in the context of violence and human mobility.

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against *erga omnes*, or against the whole of humanity, no matter the nationality of the victim or of the

As I am suggesting here, the word 'exile' encompasses a wide semantic field that includes terms such as 'journey,' 'homesickness,' and 'alienation.' But, as is shown by the varied cultural productions resulting from exile, the term is also linked to the driving forces behind it—i.e. the dictatorship—together with terms like 'trauma,' 'subjectivity,' 'memory', and 'body.' *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas* is a great allegoric novel that depicts different signs of banishment: marginalized subjectivities, the need for collective memory, reconfiguration of identity and reflections on the homeland. Patricia Noguerol proposes different patterns in the Argentine literature of exile[38] that are present in Moyano's work. As well as that, there are several stages that I analyze in relation to the body: poetics of the body (reflections on forced disappearance and violence, otherness and collectivity, corporeality and environment, somatic experience of loss and precarity); memory (personal and collective); historical revision of national myths (the execution of Manuel Dorrego, references to popular music, reflecting on non-official versions of the origins of the dictatorship); poetics of silence (conveying stories with non-explicit violence and tragedies).

The reading flows with the pluralistic dynamic of the characters. They are travelers who tell their own stories, thus enriching an equally pluralistic testimony with their various experiences of exile. Their voices reveal how displacement affects the whole community, as well as the individual and the individual's sense of self. The novel is part of the allegoric discourses that developed a "poetics of silence" (Noguerol Jiménez 17), and throughout the story different travelers give testimony to other elements as well. In this chapter, my

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prosecutor, and protecting the victim from impunity and corruption (Amnesty International; Garzón Real).

[38] Francisca Noguerol did an excellent review of more than two hundred narratives (novels and short stories) by Argentine exiled writers. In considering the multiplicity of responses to exile in the works of three generations of writers who represent banishment or dictatorship as literary themes, she describes the following stages: the first writings found expression in testimonies and in noir fiction; then, starting in the middle of the 1970s, the next stage used allegoric discourses; a third stage invoked the poetic of the body; with the end of the dictatorship came a reassessing of the main Argentine myths; and the final period approached exile through memory, self-fiction, and family lines (Noguerol Jiménez 14). Of course, as she underlines, these stages do not limit the multiple expressions present in one author or within a single work.

analysis is focused on a more detailed reading of specific testimonies, looking at how these characters handle their painful memories. First, I analyze childhood memories, family migration, creativity and collectivity as the main devices and refuges that Rolando uses to understand his own process of going into exile. Later, I study the character of Sandra and the poetics of the body, her terrible experience of sexual violence—a macabre act of mortification and subjugation (rape loot pillage). Lastly, I look at the Spanish painter Contardi, whose interventions on forced disappearance engage with one of the most painful traumas to afflict Argentine society: the search for thirty thousand missing people and the indolence of military authorities.

Unlike Peri Rossi's *Description of a Shipwreck*, in which the poetic story reveals the tensions of dwelling on the verge of the fall of a democratic government, in Moyano's novel, the characters have already physically undergone the repercussions of the military coup. The somatic experience of their journey into exile shows the harsh conditions of violent repression and the consequences of the dictatorship. The Argentine junta displayed ostentatiously universal ideas about the destiny of its people. In 1978, Videla claimed that "Un terrorista no es solamente alguien con un revólver o con una bomba, sino también cualquiera que difunde ideas que son contrarias a la civilización occidental y cristiana" (The Times). The dichotomic ideas suggested by his constant allusions to 'Western' and 'Christianity,' and 'civilization' is a Manicheism that configured the public and political life with repressive unidirectional stereotypes. Citizens either belonged to the *nation* or were expelled from it and persecuted as enemies. The body, in both its social and individual aspects, is an immediate receptor of these reductionist configurations of self-worth.

Moyano represents the experience of the body during the maritime voyage into exile, but also shows the context of general forms of violence under the dictatorship. Firstly, I

introduce the main characters, the plot of the novel, and the most relevant scenes with which to illustrate this analysis. Secondly, I contextualize the Argentine dictatorship, especially the discursive process that reinforced and validated the regime. In this section, it was of great importance to present the struggles of the Madres and Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo as transgressions of some of the binary terms imposed by the junta. Finally, I focus the analysis on three fictional characters and their experiences related to their particularities of embodiment as subjects of exile.

The protagonist is Rolando, a forty-year-old violinist from La Rioja who is arrested while cleaning his violin, *Gryga*. He presents himself as first person protagonist: "¿Rolando? Sí. Me llevaban, sabían mi nombre, eran tres. Delante de los vecinos, entre ellos mi compadre. Tuve que bajar la cara. La vergüenza" (12). After being in prison, where he experiences torture and confinement in a punishment cell, he is released on the condition that he leave the country. The story begins when he and other prisoners are transferred in a police van from his province in the north of the country to Buenos Aires port to take a ship towards Barcelona. On the way—1,200 km to the south—he meets some of the people with whom he will board the ocean liner *Cristóforo Colombo*. Carrying "setecientos no deseables" from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, the ship begins its two-week voyage into exile.

They voyage across the ocean, forced to flee the Southern Cone after the coup d'état that overthrew the government of María Estela Martínez (also known as Isabel Perón).[39] The

[39] In Uruguay, the coup was in 1972, while in Chile it was in 1973. According to the novel, there were refugees from both countries living in Buenos Aires. However, they were forced to flee to Europe when, on March 24, 1976, the junta led by Videla removed the vice-president from office and formed a de facto government that lasted until December 1983. According to information released in the 1990s, during the cases against Pinochet and the Argentine military juntas, Plan Cóndor or Operativo Cóndor was a real threat to citizens from the region—Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay— "la estrecha colaboración que existía entre las dictaduras del Cono Sur [tenía como…] objetivo común […] hacer desaparecer a los opositores políticos," according to Garzón Reyes (Garzón Real XXXV). Banned, harassed, censored, and imprisoned, the citizenry's participation in cultural, political or social spaces was restricted.

narrative relates, in a variety of registers, the tragedies of some of those travelers: "seres desamparados que viven en la precariedad y las ugencias del presente" (Bonnardel 20). As Peter Burke underlines, "The shock of exile also includes the loss of an individual's former identity… exile proved to be a traumatic experience" (5). Exile leads to different responses, and characters display diverse processes of reconfiguration of subjectivity. But at the same time, as Burke expounds, "The catastrophe that the exiles had experienced stimulated their search for explanations" (136). By revisiting their recent experiences of political repression, and by rethinking their situation as historical subjects, they develop awareness of their bodily materiality once they achieve freedom. They reimagine their nations in their own bodies in transit, i.e. their embodied local repertoires are the extension of the political spaces of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. This introduces a post-national understanding in which exiled subjects exercise their rights as global citizens, even when they have minimal resources. Indeed, they are crossing the Borderlands.

Through the voices of different characters, and in a variety narrative registers, the plot develops a dense and deep perspective, similar to the complex rhythm of the sea. During the first chapters, "I. Y chau, Buenos Aires," "II. Petunias," "III. Rasguidos," and "IV. Naufragios," the travelers express their greatest uncertainties. They are disoriented, emotionally and physically. The plot focuses on the trauma and psychological toll inflicting a small group of passengers who constitute the varied Southern Cone exile and who embody the history of continued political repression. "Éramos setecientos fotocopias de una misma historia, donde había azar ni diversidad….El fenómeno se sigue repitiendo de la misma manera para siempre" (64), as the narrator describes. They have been objectified and have lost their sense of individuality. Each character provides a distinct set of nuances around the

rearticulation of subjectivity and the body of migrants that I will go on to explore in this chapter.

Exiles, faced with the loss of practically all intimate and public spaces (family, friends, home, work, homeland), seek to recover some pieces of themselves, finding support in the collective and in the feeling of belonging. This collective is developed through different voices. The main group of exiles who accompany Rolando, and who the plots interweaves together are Totó or el Gordito, Sandra, Rafael Bidoglio, Paredes el Titiritero, and Contardi. There are also two supporting characters, el Flaco and Nieves, who are mentioned several times throughout the novel and who help develop the complex backstory of political violence and exile. I will introduce them very briefly to give a sense of the relationship between them and their impact in the storyline. Totó/el Gordito, is a lawyer who defended political prisoners and whose son was persecuted and killed. Like Rolando, Totó was jailed and transported in the van. He helped Rolando board the ship, wrestling and arguing with a soldier who wanted to keep Rolando prisoner because he appeared on a blacklist. El Gordito and el Flaco are introduced by the playful narrator as a parody of the comedy duo Laurel and Hardy, like a cruel slapstick sketch in which both of them are transferred prisoners, but el Flaco is *disappeared* and Rolando ends up with his clothes. Another traveler is Sandra, an Uruguayan political prisoner who was tortured and raped in jail and whose brothers suffered forced disappearance. Another is Rafael Bidoglio, an Argentinian from Rosario who helps the narrator differentiate between present reality and the hallucinations triggered by the traumatic events he has witnessed and experienced. Another character is Paredes el titiritero, who travels with his puppets and organizes a metanarrative play in Chapter "V. Titiriteando," in which the group of exiles perform as themselves. This performance serves Paredes to analyze the origins of state violence in the

modern Argentinian republic. Finally, there is Contardi, a Spanish painter whose son Haroldo suffered forced disappearance. This character is Moyano's tribute to the writer Haroldo Conti.[40]

Disenfranchised first as prisoners they are banned from inhabiting the political sphere; now, in forced displacement, they lose their connection with their national territories: they have no visibility in the political body of their homelands, they present the trauma of prison, exile and fragilized citizenship. "Cabizbajos y meditabundos pero vivos, por lo menos no habían desaparecido a pesar de que estábamos próximos al año en que George Orwell anunció las detenciones nocturnas y masivas (1984)" (73). In making reference to Orwell's dystopian novel *1984* (1949), the narrator illustrates the general defeatism that prevails in the first part of the novel.

Trying to relocate themselves, Rolando and this group of travelers start speculating about their destiny. At first they are afraid of forced relocation to another prison; some are struggling to believe in their own innocence, trying to stop their faces from revealing their vulnerability and insecurity: "cara de preso del sur, o sea peligroso según las pautas" (30). Something as ordinary as the capacity to gesticulate helps them believe that they are not guilty. The face constitutes a powerful element in helping them regain agency over their self-belief. In Chapter "X. El Diario de a Bordo" the stars in the sky reveal that they are heading to the Northern hemisphere—"Anoche empezaron a cambiar las estrellas" (223)—in this moment their fears vanish and they start readjusting their dreams and hopes of a better immediate future.

Painfully aware of the reality of life under the military dictatorship, the passengers of the *Cristóforo Colombo* have been exposed to extreme forms of vulnerability, but at the

[40] Haroldo Conti (1925-1976?) was kidnapped and disappeared on May 5th, 1976. To commemorate his disappearance, May 5th is the Day of the Writer in Buenos Aires. Moyano honors the memory of his very close

same time they find some mechanisms for disarticulating the same repressive discourses that have expelled them from their territory. There is great mutual understanding amongst the small group of travelers who, with their silences, their explicit disclosures of common pasts, and the artistic projects they engage in during the voyage (I analyze some specific passages later on) become close friends. After two weeks sailing the ocean, they land in Europe, where the group splits up and each individual continues his or her quest for asylum.

A military regime exposes the subject to the elimination of its dignity, even its humanity, but this repression also overlaps with civic and artistic activism. In this sense, contrary to the dichotomic perspectives of the military regime, the novel's characters reveal processes that show that the borders of the body do not end at the skin but are part of a rich and complex symbolic network that is closely related to the environment. Anzaldúa's suggestion of a transformational epistemology in which meaning, beingness and creation are part of a concurrent process illustrates how the characters mobilize and insist in the interrelatedness of all forms of beingness (Keating). As AnaLouise Keating emphasizes, the social and political body, together with the physical, spiritual and material body share a sacred interdependence. Argentine singer and composer Liliana Felipe comments on the structural damage caused when a person in missing,

> [La *desaparición*] es una tortura permanente para los familiares, para toda su vida y por varias generaciones—por lo menos tres generaciones, la de los padres, la de los contemporáneos y la de los hijos. Es una forma de tortura que se expande en presente, pasado y futuro. (Liliana Felipe in interview with Lorenzano 53)

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friend with the character of Contardi.

As Felipe makes clear in these lines, the whole family structure and social circle is impacted by a person's forced disappearance. When military forces extract a person, normal life, places of work or study, other everyday places, the world around that person, all collapse. From this perspective, the crime of forced disappearance has a deep impact on psychological stability, bodily integrity and social life for a long period of time. Not only does it do harm in the present moment, but the suffering it causes lasts for generations.

Despite the extreme disruption caused by the military dictatorship, official discourse was not the only voice to articulate the *truth*. In 1977, the organizations Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo and Madres de Plaza de Mayo began their relentless struggle to locate and recover their missing relatives, rattling the false stability of the terror state. These women linked arms and walked in pairs around Plaza de Mayo, the political center of the Argentine government, across the street from the famed Casa Rosada. The country was suffering through the harshest period of the bloody military dictatorship, but these women were displaying the strength and solidarity of togetherness, embodying political resistance by bringing motherhood to the plaza: "había que vencer el miedo. Quizá por eso nos llamaban locas. Porque en un momento en que todo mundo estaba aterrorizado, nosotras lo superábamos, superábamos ese terror," said René Epelbaum in the documentary *Las Madres. The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo* (interviewed by Muñoz and Portillo).

They were building a community in the public space at a time when public gatherings of more than two people were banned. "Vamos, señoras, sigan circulando," shouted a guard, trying to disperse the mothers who had gathered to call on the authorities for information about their disappeared daughters and sons. Many of the mothers soon

realized that their grandchildren were missing too.[41] Fourteen mothers started the public protests on April 30, 1977. Today, they still gather every Thursday at 3:30 pm to walk around the pyramid in the plaza. "¿Por qué no nos dicen a nosotras si están vivos, si están muertos? ¿Por qué no nos dicen? Si buscamos eso nada más. Que nos respondan, nada más. Después nos retiramos," said a desolate mother to the international press that was covering the FIFA World Cup in 1978 in Argentina (Muñoz and Portillo). "¿Cuántas son ustedes?" asked a journalist. "Miles (varias voces responden a la vez)… Miles en todo el país," claimed a heartbroken chorus of women. They had gone from one bureaucratic institution to another in pursuit of the truth, but the government gave no response, so the women refused to leave the plaza—the most prominent public space in the country. "'No, basta de miedo, ya no tengo que tener miedo'. Y salí a las calles, recorrimos todos los lugares para hacer la denuncia. Entonces, ¿dónde nos reunimos? En la Plaza de Mayo,"[42] testifies María Elisa Haschman (in interview with Muñoz and Portillo). In the streets, in the plaza, out in the open, the organizations of Madres and Abuelas dismantled the stability of the public/private oppositional binary.

Modernity locked up intimacy, restricting the domestic to interior sites, but it also stole intimacy's political agency. As long as the public is the domain of the citizenry and political power; the outer space remains at the top of the dominant order. In the male/female

[41] Some of those women realized that their struggles were different and decided to unite as grandmothers to recover their grandchildren. As of July 2019, they have found 130 grandchildren. In 2003, the organization of Mothers split into Madres Línea Fundadora, and Asociación de Madres de Plaza de Mayo.

[42] The most conservative wing of Buenos Aires society did not allow, for example, the Fuente Monumental Las Nereidas (1903) to be displayed in this plaza. The mayor requested that this sculpture by artist Dolores Mora be installed where the pyramid is now. However, the Catholic Curia found the nudity of the figures offensive, so Las Nereidas was instead located north of Casa Rosada in Paseo de Julio (today Leandro N. Allem). Moralistic pressure continued and in 1918 the sculpture was removed and taken to the Costanera Sur, an area that was barely urbanized at that time. Paradoxically, over the last two/three decades, the neighborhood the sculpture is located in, Puerto Madero, has become one of the wealthiest parts of the city. It has also become one of the most feminine since Ordenanza 49 668 (1995) dictated that all nomenclature should be dedicated to prominent women. As the most symbolic republican space—the meeting place for the revolucionarios de Mayo—when the mothers started *occupying* the plaza, they defied not only the state of

binary, public space is clearly connected to the former, while interior space is connected to the latter. Therefore, maternity, reproductive rights, procreation, domestic labor, raising children or taking care of the elderly have historically been subjugated, relegated to the bottom of many hierarchical orders. And, more importantly, the female-interior space connection is not taken into account in the dynamics of political agency, the creation of laws, or active participation within the *polis*. From the distorted perspective of a totalitarian military regime, a group of empowered women with a collective female voice occupying a public space as notorious as the Plaza de Mayo is an aberrant, inconceivable sight.

As philosopher Elizabeth Grosz has observed, this also occurs with the oppositional mind/body dualism, which belittles the body and encodes femininity with embodiment and therefore with unreason, establishing "the corresponding elevation of mind as a disembodied term" (Grosz 41). The discursive construction of Madres and Abuelas wearing white head scarves as *insane* women relies on the disavowal of corporeality, and refuses to validate the truth of their struggle. Women gathering in the exterior and political spaces, bringing their pain, strength and motherhood outside, constitutes an irrefutable feminist revolution.

They *kept moving* (as the guard had demanded), they broke silence, they wrote their stories on bills to spread the truth. At a time with no internet and no cell phones, they organized protests and rounds by word of mouth. On October, 1977, they agreed to participate in the pilgrimage to the Basílica de Nuestra Señora de Luján—one of the few public activities allowed—to protest for their *disappeared* children. In order to recognize each other in the crowd they wore cloth diapers belonging to their children as head scarfs. Soon, the white scarf became a powerful symbol of resilience, feminism, human rights

siege and the law against mass assembly during the dictatorship, but also the historic androcentric understanding of public space in the city.

activism, tireless struggle and unconditional love.[43] It could not be black: since the state would not tell them the truth, they refused to mourn. Other mothers started replicating the association in cities across Argentina, and—over the course of decades—in other countries as well, such as El Salvador, Chile, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru and Mexico. They all became experts in law, human rights, genetics, forensic medicine. Mothers and grandmothers untiringly searching, disrupting the public sphere with new schemes of family and motherhood, confronting androcentric and adultcratic societies, and indirectly breaking new ground for today's feminist groups, non-normative identities, trans identities and non-binary gender struggles. Their forms of organization were essential to dismantling the public/domestic space oppositional binary, providing the historically peripheral subjectivities and social movements to come with political agency.

The voices and vision of those women illustrate the profound forces that shape intimate bonds. According to Tricia Rose, in using unconditional love as a site for collective survival, such bonds can create spaces of political power, individual agency, and collective resilience. As we saw in the case of the traveler in the poetic story of Peri Rossi, love is a transgressive and unifying strength for the subject, not in isolation but in collectivity. Love is a fundamental source for rescuing the memory of those who have been ostracized from the public space and political site of the nation. The state decided over the lives of *differentiated* subjects, but human rights activism and civic engagement like that of the Madres and Abuelas rejected such blatant discourse and *embodied* their missing relatives by

[43] Today, the white scarfs hand painted on the paving stones are an inescapable feature of the plaza, a historic site for the nation since 2005. During the plaza's remodeling in January 2018, the scarfs where removed and the site was fenced up, but there was a public outcry: people accused the Buenos Aires government "of erasing" history and memory. Mempo Giardinelli wrote on that occasion: "Y es claro pobrecita (plaza) si la dejaron sin pañuelos / le robaron los pañuelos de las rondas / de la memoria y la dignidad / Ahora nos mira triste nuestra plaza" (vv. 24-27). People protested by hanging white handkerchiefs from the grating, until finally, once the remodeling had ended, the scarfs were returned to the stones. The recent use of scarfs in the mass feminist movements in Argentina share a history of sorority with this white scarf. The purple

displaying their names, stories, and photographs in the public space, showing them to be fundamentally loved humans.

From this radical positionality of political expression of love and search for justice—what Rose describes as politics of (inter)personal justice—I posit that all the violent crimes committed by the state during the dictatorship and the culture of fear used to intimidate the citizenry—as a systematic method of rule—are all forms of generating *disappearance*: the disappearance of bodies from their familiar places and lives. The body that is persecuted, held captive, tortured, exiled, or *disappeared* has been extracted from different levels of life as experienced by the subject and by its surroundings. This doesn't just generate a deconfiguration in one individual, it also causes disruption, at the social level, to all tangible and intangible spaces related to that human. Liliana Felipe's statement about transgenerational damage caused by forced disappearance sheds light on this issue. There are differences, both obvious and subtle, regarding the degree of *extracting* or *expulsing a body* and the damage caused in each case; however, all forms of political repression generate severe levels of *desaparición* among a citizenry already aggravated with social polarization due to authoritarianism. This stance is only viable by expanding and decolonizing our modern understanding of body, as Chela Sandoval proposes, and unveiling and disarticulating the different forms of control and discursive domination over the concept of body.

2.2. The Body and Its Historical Scarcity

From the limits of precarity and marginalization imposed on *extracted* bodies, I highlight once more the concept of somatic geography, as discussed in the previous chapter about Uruguay. The travelers in *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas* are struggling with forced

scarf was used in the Ni Una Menos movement to raise awareness of violence against women—especially

migration. Coming from terrible and violent circumstances, their bodies are in transit, displaced into unknown physical spaces—the sea and the ocean liner—where they feel disoriented and insecure. Even when they express hope for what is to come, they manifest uncertainty and trauma due to their immediate past. There is also a second level of displacement through the historical, emotional and mental retrospection that they carry out to understand their present. As we saw in Peri Rossi, the space-time retrospection allows the individual to reconnect with the here and now when the present is a hostile and dangerous place. Somatic geography is the experience of the traveler's body, a fluid body in transit, leaving traces on the path, patterns of the physical body crossing unknown topographies will also guide future travelers—or their families, as in the case of the missing people.

This connection and reconnection with the Earth is fundamental. A body that has lost its home, its mother country, its connection with the familiar world, and its perception of wellbeing and security, is a disrupted body. An individual who suffers political persecution has to leave everything in haste to avoid or escape captivity, torture, death, or *disappearance*. The fictional characters in Moyano's novel search their past for any path that will allow them to reconnect with their present reality and *land* on Earth again. These bodies have been conceptualized to the limit with different discourses that validate violence and stigmatization, that deny them a place in dyadic and discriminatory systems such as mind/body, male/female, public/intimate space.

At a former illegal detention center, the archive of the Museo de Sitio del Archivo Provincial de la Memoria in Córdoba, Argentina, highlights the narrative of policy making and judicial intolerance that normalized different forms of state violence in the country for over a century,

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femicides—while a green scarf has been employed to demand the legalization of abortion.

> ¿Qué ven cuando me ven? Sos un extranjero delincuente? (1902 – Ley de residencia); ¿acaso sos anarquista? (1910 – Ley de Defensa Social); alterás el orden? (1958 – Plan Conintes); sos un portador de ideología que propone la alteración del orden de las instituciones (1974 – Ley de Seguridad Nacional); sos un subversivo? (1975 – Decretos de Aniquilación); ¿has cometido algún delito para exigir a las autoridades públicas que hagan algo? (2011 – Ley Antiterrorista). Sos un extremista. Si bien las palabras cambian, todas expresan lo mismo: el catalogado es peligroso para el orden establecido. (Archivos de la Represión)

Here it is clear what Rita Segato highlights: violence is a *historical project* (*La Crítica de la Colonialidad en Ocho Ensayos*), especially violence against women and femininity, which are understood as marginalized subjectivities. The state founded embedded stigmatizations around certain ideologies by encoding law, organizing policies, and enforcing exclusion through a repressive apparatus. These are forms of normalizing inequality and all levels of oppression. Binary definitions have excluded certain expressions of citizenship, of both bodies and humans, and make it impossible for them to integrate into the national political sphere. The ideal Western *citizen* has been defined against the *criminal*, *anarchist*, *subversive*, or *extremist* non-body-human-citizen. This definition has been made in legal, political, economic, and cultural spheres. Violent states also trigger migration, displacing people to different cities or countries. Those are the nomadic bodies that are considered irregular by mainstream discourses and the modern Western understanding of the corporeal order. The Cartesian paradigm restricts a wider conception of the somatic experience. Dichotomic principles leave aside the body from epistemological attention or as an epistemological source.

However, despite the prevailing restrictions on corporality, the body develops as a whole in balance with the environment. Displaced to a new space in turbulent times, the body re-learns through mechanisms of re-adaptation. In *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas,* time and space are essential to this process, particularly through historical revisionism and geographical relocation. There is a wide range of possibilities of interpretation of history and exile in the novel. Firstly, in naming the ship *Cristóforo Colombo*, the reference to the voyages of the Italian explorer is made explicit: "Pobre almirante, el mundo que descubriste" (18), says Rolando paraphrasing Rubén Darío's verse "pobre almirante, / ruega a Dios por el mundo que descubriste," from the poem "A Colón." In giving the ocean liner this name, Moyano plotted the path to historical revisionism that his characters would follow during their journey. He also introduces a review of the different migratory flows that changed the demography of Argentina, especially during the 19th and 20th centuries: "En un barco como este llegarían los abuelos, ¿no?" (19), claims Rolando when he faces the ship for the first time. And finally, he introduces the puppeteer, Paredes, who stages a play about the detention and execution of governor of Buenos Aires, Manuel Dorrego, in 1828 after a revolt led by Juan Lavalle. In this piece of metatheatre, which takes place in Chapter "V. Titiriteando," the master puppeteer offers a parodic revision of national myths, unraveling the origins of political violence of the republican government of Argentina and establishing the deep-rooted connections with the dictatorship of 1976. The characters of the novel also develop this embodied process in geographic relocation; for example, when one of the desperate travelers searches for a compass to be sure of the location and destination of the ship, or when the stars and the equator signal the voyagers' presence in the Northern Hemisphere, or when the travelers celebrate "el cambio de cielo" and say goodbye to the emblematic Southern Cross.

The characters also reorder their personal stories of violence and torture when they find themselves safe again in the collective voice, or when their encounters with *the other* dampens their fears. Some of the characters can hardly bear the loss and trauma: Contardi has lost all hope of finding his son; Sandra is in dire need of help but prefers to remain in silence, taking pills to sleep; while Rolando fantasizes about Nieves and different layers of reality in order to feel safe again—violence is the unreal, reality lies in the past, Nieves is the hope of a better future. The sea is an ambiguous medium for this complex flow of personal and collective processes. As mentioned in the chapter on Peri Rossi's poetry, the blue waters have historically been a site in which cultural, political and geographical human Borders have been determined. The magnitude of the ocean is also the source of great disorientation, and its vigorous oscillation makes human passage seem insignificant. The fear of a shipwreck is already present in the title: *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas*.

2.3. Rolando, Becoming an Exile

The transatlantic journey in an ocean liner named *Cristóforo Colombo* immediately connects the story with navigators, colonialists, and African slaves from the 15th to 17th centuries. Bodies in transit have crossed the Atlantic since the beginnings of capitalist expansion. Western modernity configured social, cultural, political and economic life on both sides of the ocean—resulting in a catastrophic ethnocide and epistemological crisis in the Americas, and slavery, racism and exclusion for Black people from the African diaspora. Although *Cristóforo Colombo* was actually the name of the ship that took Moyano and his family to Europe when they left their home country on May 24, 1976, and arrived in Barcelona fifteen days later (in an interview with Graham-Yoll), the author uses this coincidence to carry out a historical review of sea travel and the modern configuration of the country. The protagonist Rolando explains,

> Los barcos del destierro, mitológicos. Contienen mutaciones. Se hablará siempre de un barco, hasta que la propia memoria lo desguace…. El barco, como se dice, del que descendemos los conosurenses. Vapor, raza y origen. Barco que vale tanto como un imperio incaico y una civilización azteca….Cuando las cosas van mal adonde sea y no se tiene continente fijo, entonces sale sola la palabra referencial para protegerse, para entenderlo todo desde el comienzo: el barco. (34)

These kinds of reflections on sea travel, migratory circuits, and journeys that were meant to be temporary but became definitive, are ever-present in Rolando's thoughts about belonging, nationality, and the migratory composition of Argentina.

Moyano's own experience of exile is present in the evolution of Rolando. My interest in the life of the writer is related to his own experience and process of exile as presented in the fictional journey. In voicing the intimate, his writing displays biographemes (Barthes), elements in his memory that shine from this moving text. As the author expresses in an interview, "Mi técnica consiste… en hacerlo pasar por mi sangre. Le doy un baño, le pongo mi color y entonces puedo hablar de ese tema" (with Gil Amate 2). He has also said, "Yo escribo para explicarme el mundo… A mí me ha tocado una vida bastante complicada, en un país complicado, lleno de violencia" (in interview with Gnutzmann 114), a statement that has been a key principle in his work. By considering the overlaps between his life and his aesthetics I also share the perspective that "the personal is political," in the sense that the political system of oppression affected, and is manifested in, Moyano's own experiences as an individual.

Libro de Navíos y Borrascas constitutes his first writing about exile[44] after the psychological toll of his own experience of detention and forced displacement. According to several interviews that Moyano has given, the process that allowed him to understand his own exile is noticeable in aspects of Rolando's character. The author relates,

> Nosotros llegamos un año después de la muerte de Franco, y esto era muy difícil…. Tuve que entrar a trabajar como peón en una fábrica, estábamos muy mal económicamente, y eso me deprimía mucho. No podía escribir ni cartas. Y lo que intentaba, me salía con sangre, con pesadillas, calabozos y metralletas… Y bueno, tiempo después, en el *Cristóforo Colombo*, no sé en qué momento del viaje, sentí que había perdido la noción de las palabras. Ni apuntes podía hacer. Eso me duró cinco años, hasta el 81.[45] (in interview with Giardinelli párr. 7)

With the distance of time, the writer's reconfiguration of identity made possible the development of the fictional character's sense of belonging and re-appropriation of his bodily experience through childhood memories, his grandfather's migration, his creative processes as a musician and writer, and collectivity.[46]

The historical frame of Moyano's life is disturbed by a period of dictatorships and political violence in Argentina. The writer was born on October 6, 1930, one month after

[44] During these years, some of his short stories reappeared in different anthologies. He also rewrote the novel *El Vuelo del Tigre* (Madrid: Legasa, 1981). The first draft of this work was ready to be sent to Sudamericana when the writer was imprisoned. A friend of the family went to Moyano's home and found the manuscript in his library. After reading the manuscript he and Irma Capellino buried it in the garden: "Pidió el borrador a mi mujer [Capellino] y se asustó, porque veía que era muy peligroso…" (in interview with Gnutzmann 118). They never recovered that manuscript.

[45] The same frustration and hopelessness is clearly noted in the metanarrative texts written by the characters, both in the drama of execution of Dorrego and in the story of the lighthouse keeper that they wrote for Contardi.

[46] According to Bonnardel, the first period in Moyano's career is related to his writings on national historical topics: *El Oscuro* (1968), *El Trino del Diablo* (1975), until *El Vuelo del Tigre* (1981). This includes writing about the coup d'état and dictatorship of José Félix Uriburu (1930-32), the Década Infame (1930-43), and the military coup and de facto government of Juan Onganía (1966-70). Social tension and increased

Hipólito Yrigoyen, first president elected by male suffrage, was overthrown during his second term by José Félix Uriburu. Uriburu installed the first military junta (1930-32) after the country adopted a Constitution.[47] "Casi naces de un susto," recounted Moyano's mother, María Bellini, to him (in interview with Gil Amate par. 3). The writer was four years old when the family experienced internal migration from Buenos Aires to Córdoba after his father lost his job. He lived through a second migration in 1959 when he moved to La Rioja and became part of the cultural life in the province as David Gabriel Gatica and Virginia Gil Amate have related. Living in the northwest of the country, historically abandoned and ignored by the political, economic, and cultural center of Buenos Aires, gave Moyano a wider perspective of marginal life. Dwelling in non-metropolitan areas motivated the author to delve into the consciousness of otherness and the search for collective identity. His work as correspondent for *Clarín* gave him the opportunity to get to know the interior of La Rioja and to develop his perspective on rural poverty and harsh realities that soon appeared in his fictional narratives.[48]

> Yo descubrí que América Latina empezaba ahí en la provincia de La Rioja, que no éramos Buenos Aires ni Europa. Esto me llevó a escribir sobre lo que me rodeaba, pero no en términos del realismo, sino de tomarlo como base, tratando de introducir nuestra manera de decir, rechazada desde siempre por los que tenían el poder en Buenos Aires (in interview with Gnutzmann 114).

His deep awareness of rural spaces comes from his quest to understand a perplexing and ambiguous world. As Sara Bonnardel has observed, only a well-educated sensibility in

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violence would be ever-present during the second period, from the revolutionary year of 1968 up until the military coup that expelled Moyano from his homeland.

[47] The first time women voted was in 1951 when Juan Domingo Perón was elected.

[48] Moyano admired Juan Rulfo, and, like the Jalisciense author, he created excellent portraits of rural realities. In *Los Desvalidos,* Diego Vigna prepared a collection of Moyano's photography and photojournalism,

peripheral worlds can perceive this harsh reality (4). The author also considers his maternal grandfather's migration from Italy as another close contact with exile. The figure of the European grandfather is of great importance for Rolando as well. Sara Bonnardel did an excellent study of the complex parallelisms between Rolando's grandfather's journey to Argentina and Moyano's own journey into exile, as well as exploring how Rolando's grandfather represents his past, while the imaginary Nieves embodies his hope for the future.

And finally, Moyano's loss of the bosom of the family when he was only seven years old, led him to an itinerant life.[49] Orphanhood, solitude, and the various forms of deprivation that he suffered from until young adulthood are also part of his reflections on exile: "Hablo de esos exilios que tienen todos los seres humanos y que consisten en ir dejando cosas. Yo he vivido cambiando de querencia toda mi vida y no me arrepiento, pues me ha permitido mirar el mundo de otra manera" (in interview with Gil Amate Moyano, *Lleno* 4), and are also depicted in Rolando. Burke also explains that exile expands the individual horizons and opportunities of knowledge in the processes of deprovincialization and distanciation (Burke 18-23), and we can extend this statement to travel in general. Moyano's experience of multiple losses and relocations encourages a detached approach, an ability to see "the big picture" of the nation (from diachronic and synchronic perspectives), and a search for explanations (mainly regarding personal and national identity, violence and migration) from an outsider's perspective. The misfortunes of national history served as material for Moyano's first stage as a novelist—*El Oscuro*, *El Trino del Diablo* (1975), *El Vuelo del Tigre* (1976-1981)—but his detention and departure from the country interrupted his

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as well as researching his press articles and works of fiction written during those years as journalist. All that ended with the coup.

[49] His father, Cayetano Moyano, killed his mother and was subsequently imprisoned for ten years. Seven-year-old Daniel and his sister Blanca went to live with various aunts and uncles, who were the source of many stories until they were separated. Daniel was sent to a juvenile detention center, but managed to escape. He and his sister went to live in their maternal grandfather's home, where they finally found stability. Living there

writing. Eventually, *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas* helped him to recover his fluency and expressivity as an author. As he has explained, "*Navíos y borrascas* sirvió para recuperar mi capacidad expresiva" (in interview with Graham-Yooll).

The search for identity that accompanies the voyage into exile that I discuss in this chapter is connected to the concept of nation and to the philosophical debates about "who we are" that prevailed in the Americas for at least two centuries—from the birth of the Latin American young republics.[50] The bane of banishment heightens in the exiled subject the need to disarticulate national myths and political intolerance. Patriarchal fanaticism privileged a series of binary discourses, such as civilization/barbarism, from the formation of the republic, from Creole independentists to the development of centralist paternalistic governments that justified the ethnocide and slavery of native communities. Similarly, during the Cold War, the capitalism/communism binary prevailed, imposing a logic of virtual global market and military and plutocratic oligarchies, while manipulating civil power, natural resources and the working classes—and ultimately validating state terrorism. As Argentine philosopher León Rozitchner emphasizes,

> La derecha ha despojado al pueblo del suelo terrenal que le es propio y trastrueca el concepto de nación basándolo sobre valores espirituales. Es decir, el nacionalismo establece una especie de comunismo abstracto, todos somos argentinos sí, pero para ir a morir a las Malvinas. Pero cuando se trata de ser argentinos porque define un campo geográfico, el campo de la tierra, ahí no sos argentino, sos un paria, porque ellos se han apoderado de toda la

between 1943 and 1946, he discovered the pleasures of music and poetry. He preserved Italian Romagnol as his mother language and learned his trade as a plumber.

[50] A catalog of texts searches for patterns of identity and national mythologies: mestizaje, solitude, or cultural dependence. With a variety of Eurocentric and Western perspectives that proposed progress as a continental paradigm, such as *Facundo* (1845) by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Ariel* (1900) by José Enrique Rodó, or *La Raza Cósmica* (1925) by José Vasconcelos, who lauded a pan-Hispanic mestizaje as a way to

tierra y por eso pueden entregar el petróleo, entregar los yacimientos mineros. (Rozitchner par. 3)

'Homeland', 'nation' and 'nationalism' have an incidental value. The idea of nation as a static category is questioned by the rocking of the ocean liner in Rolando's interventions: "el barco era un transhogar océanico, mientras nos quedamos quietos otra vez esperando nuevas migraciones, nuevas expectativas de vida y juventud aunque todo indique lo contrario" (207). The nation is where the citizens are, as Rozitchner points, "La soberanía son los cuerpos que reivindican la materialidad sobre la cual se apoya la vida. A vos te conceden el ser argentino con la libreta de enrolamiento, como definición puramente formal. Pero como prolongación de tu cuerpo en la materialidad de la tierra que te define como argentino por tu pertenencia a ella" (par. 8).

In this sense, the deconstruction of the mechanisms of power is necessary for Rolando to understand his place as a historical subject and a human being, as part of a dynamic non-official history—since the official left him in the margins of the system—and the material relation with a territory. However, now he is dispossessed of both the formal and the material nation, his body dwells within the liquid stage of the sea. From the perspective of an intolerant military regime, his *body* becomes expendable, he is not considered a *human being*, and his *citizenship* is endangered. Due to the fact that the junta took over the country through the imposition of nationalist bigotry, Rolando can no longer identify with the 'nation' that expelled him. The regime based itself on universal, abstract values rather than on the sovereignty of the bodies that made up the nation.

Rolando experiences national identity through his body in transit, not only due to the movement itself, but because he is moving towards recovering his freedom. He undergoes

"improve" the *original race*, to later works such as *El Laberinto de la Soledad* by Octavio Paz or *Cien Años de Soledad* by Gabriel García Márquez, that lay the foundations for the universal feeling of loneliness.

development as a character by considering perspectives from both extremes of the life cycle: first, through the innocence of childhood memories, and then later through his connection with the family line and his grandfather's migration. The narrator finds some protection in recounting the story from the perspective of a 10-year-old boy. According to critic Marcelo Casarín, a recurrent element in Moyano's short stories is "la mirada de un niño que se materializa como voz o como perspectiva narrativa" (introduction in Moyano, *Música* 12). The child conveys a point of view to the reader also as novelist, which is very clear in *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas*. Presenting paper ships and metal toy soldiers, the narrator introduces a tone of innocence to the story.

As mentioned above, at the beginning of the novel, Rolando ignores the ship's destination. He introduces a confused traveler about to board. Rolando starts mapping the route of the liner by revisiting his memory of maps that he drew in school. As Casarín emphasizes, Moyano makes constant allusions to childhood, even in the midst of danger: "La mirada de un niño desvalido en un mundo amenazante" (Casarín 11). The child is given access to the narrator's mind through Rolando's memories. He describes the scene: "Maestra con rulitos, voz cantarina en la mañana, y a través de la ventana cercanías de pampas. La caja de doce lápices de colores…. El marrón para los bordes del continente, el celeste para la bandera idolatrada, y el azul oscuro para el mar. Entonces debemos estar muy cerca del borde marrón" (27). He had only thought about the border of the nation, its territorial limits, through the hand of a little boy drawing the country's geographic outline on a piece of paper. And now he expands the representation from the old drawing onto the material border of Buenos Aires port.

Indeed, the "mundo amenazante" could not be more dangerous for Rolando than it is at this moment of his journey, getting in line with the rest of the prisoners. "Al soldado

moreno no le falta ninguna pierna. Los soldados vivos parecen menos frágiles que aquellos de la caja" (27), says the child, confronting the war on the playground with a real threat to life from the potential violence of the rifles. He has been in prison, he just got out of the van, this is the first time he sees the coastline, he has never been in Buenos Aires, and he has to abruptly leave everything behind and go into exile. His body is relocating all these emotions in the midst of immediate danger, and the child saves him from chaos. For Rolando as an adult, childhood is a more placid, tranquil and safer place than it ever was for the orphan Moyano.

The body is dislocated in the geographical borders of Argentina. The imagined nation is also the limit of the bodily experience. He is unsure of what to expect from the trip. Distress at new topographies, especially at the untamed ocean surface, is part of the common process of exile. As philosopher Vlem Flusser explains, "People are generally expelled from someplace to nowhere in particular. If they don't perish in the process, they become immigrants somewhere. Even though expulsions have occurred ever since human beings became settled, they remain horrific" (25). From the beginning of the journey, Rolando is already predisposed to the impossibility of returning: "Se perdía el mar en los límites de la hoja del cuaderno. Continúa en este y en otros cuadernos, sería inútil tratar de pintarlo todo. Por eso es casi seguro que nunca volveremos: el mar abarca vidas y todos los cuadernos" (26). Again, the body relies on a visual representation, a childhood drawing, as the only certainty of what is to come.

However, vulnerability and scarcity find kindness and innocence in the departure when a familiar face settles the child in a brief haven. Like the traveler in Peri Rossi's collection of poems, reunited with a childhood sweetheart, Roland finds here, in the familiarity of childhood, a haven and a safe space at last. He recognizes a soldier who was a

childhood friend, and who represents a better time, a time when he was safe, calling him "mi infancia." Rolando cannot remember the man's name but the soldier remembers his, and even halts the line of prisoners to give him words of comfort. The soldier also allows Rolando to receive a package of yerba mate from another Riojano friend. Their common past makes them friendly and familiar, even though the soldier looks like a fragmented being to the child narrator:

> Detrás de una cara de aguas perturbadas (del soldado) estaba la otra, agua tranquila de la acequia en la noche regando los olivos. Me acerqué sin miedo, después de todo él era *mi infancia*…. La *mano del fusil* tenía cuarenta años; la *del golpecito* (de saludo), diez. Un soldado mitad de carne, mitad de plomo. Golpecito de su mano libre para disimular una caricia. Las caricias existen pese a todo… Pero despídanse rápido, por favor, *decía mi infancia*, al lado del fusil" (28-29, emphases added)

This encounter with someone from the past doubles Rolando's identity. He describes the scene at the dock from the perspective of both a child and an adult. The soldier, meanwhile, is split in two: half of him is actively participating in the horror of a fascist dictatorship, while the other half is still a human being who recognizes the *other* with whom he shared the happy haven of childhood. The soldier represents a (Hegelian) synthesis of the discursive domination over subjectivity: good hand vs. bad hand. The dichotomous concept of good vs. bad in this scene reduces the possibilities of the body in such a way that a pair of hands are limited to choosing between two mutually exclusive options: the caress or the threat. According to Lisa Lowe, the soldier, "submitted to the nation, is the quintessential citizen and therefore the ideal representative of the nation" (6); he is subject to national values and blind obedience, especially during a military regime. This form of abstract

citizenship immediately excludes the possibility of a national culture that integrates differentiated subjectivities. This is a powerful scene that displays who the body-human-citizen is, in contrast to who it is not, according to the military junta. Nonetheless, the children—Rolando and the soldier—together change the Manichean binary. They relate *goodness* with empathy, rather than with universal values, and *evil* with the violence expressed in the rifle, and not with subversive ideologies.

After this short encounter, Rolando starts experiencing freedom through his body: his feet secure him to the soil and to life, he fastens an improvised belt and becomes aware that wearing clothes and tying his shoes are also ways to perform his freedom. Faces and eyes also take a remarkable part in this process as he finds familiar faces that dampen the fear. Saying goodbye to the city, the child concludes, "Infancias y muertes, a él (al soldado) todo se le mezcla. Milagrosamente, me propuso la infancia….La infancia se quedaba también (atrás, como Buenos Aires), encerrada entre bordes marrones. Y sola mi infancia, ¿con quién va a andar?" (29). The country slips away from his little hands as his bodily awareness becomes more and more alert to seemingly mundane acts.

Rolando also reflects about the nation through the migratory experience of his Spanish grandfather, originally from Villanueva de la Serena, Badajoz, in the region of Extremadura. He settled in the Pampa, and worked the salty soils until he was able to establish a vineyard. The protagonist believes that his destiny is to *return* to Extremadura as an exile, and he immediately establishes a parallel between the ship that took his grandfather to America (the *Cacharro*) and the one that will take him into exile (the *Cristóforo*): "En cuanto saliera de la oscuridad del furgón y pusiese un pie en el cacharro Cristóforo, ya sería como llegar (a Villanueva de la Serena), estaríamos tocando las mismas aguas. Seguir la ruta marítima de los sobres del abuelo" (20). By linking these two paths, Rolando begins

searching for responses about his upcoming future. However, he mostly finds scarcity and half memories. The life of his grandfather is like the pieces of a puzzle that only shows Rolando what he does not want to repeat.

Haunted by the broken dreams of his family line, he wants to elevate his experience on the liner and feels the need to write a travel log in order to have a successful migratory story to tell his own grandchildren: "(Yo quería) que me hablaras un poco mejor del barco que te llevó a las Indias. Por razones de simetría quiero que sea un barco de maravilla, para que éste también lo sea, y ahora me salí con que era un cacharro" (207), recounts the narrator in an analepsis with his grandfather. The missing pieces that he desperately searches are a bad omen of Rolando's uncertain future, and he says, "nosotros somos tu fracaso. Este barco no transporta inocentes inmigrantes sino setecientos indeseables…que regresan para pedir perdón al Conde" (207). Analepsis is used again, this time to set the story during an earlier period, using an impersonal register, voicing a community of immigrants probably from the 18th or 19th centuries.

Uncertainty and failure are ever-present in the narrator's thoughts: "Somos de origen poco claro. Gente sin lugar fijo que va y viene… Descendemos de un barco como éste. Hombres-barco como niños-probeta" (190). Reflecting on Modernity and on human mobility patterns, Rolando presents contemporary exile as a return to Europe after the failed journey to the Americas: "Se trata de un regreso muy serio. Regresamos desencantados porque nos fallaron las Indias después de dos siglos de machacar muy duro…yendo ya para un lado o ya para el otro, siempre estamos volviendo" (203), what Burke calls the "return of the native" but with the bitter taste of defeat and vulnerability.

His trip begins with the loss of the Argentine homeland but is soon linked to a complex multi-directional process implied in a transgenerational scar. He is in repatriation

through his grandfather story. As this scene shows, exile is an endless journey—Burke describes it as being "a wanderer between two worlds" (28)—and Rolando dwells in the liminalities of two historical periods as well. In this way, his displacement is a migratory flow with no end, beginning with the establishment of the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata in the 18th century, the settlement of the European conquistadores, and their kidnapping and subjugation of original communities into the Western model and Modern epistemologies. "Somos descendientes de los antiguos criados de vuestro venerable bisabuelo, Alteza. Somos ellos que regresan…Metedlos otra vez en ese barco y que regresen a sus tierras" (204-205), claims an impersonal narrator. However, they are received as creoles-colonial subjects and face indifference on both sides of the ocean and in both periods of history. Marginalized immigrants are deprived of a homeland and a political site in which to exercise their rights, a safe space in which to belong and share their embodied local repertoires and national culture, a territory to situate their collective images, histories and narratives. In this novel, as in Peri Rossi's collection, historical revision is a necessary element in the complex process of reconfiguration of the exiled subject. The narrative space that gives voice to these bodies opens up possibility as a countersite to national discourses—colonial and republican—and enables a broader reading of our present and of contemporary migratory movements.

The narrator switches registers in order to show different perspectives of the journey. Another way in which Rolando displays his subjectivity readjustments as an exile is through the expression of creative processes, both as a musician and as a writer. Even when he is a child, in the scene at the dock, the soldiers and the ship are driven by the power of writing: "Contar una historia supone enredarse enteramente con el lenguaje. Los soldaditos de plomo o el barquito irán de un lado a otro según los lleven las palabras" (11). Moyano's career as a

musician is reflected in the fact that he makes musicality a central concept of his narrative. Sound is constantly stimulating Rolando's interests in a local musical and cultural archive. As a violinist he includes and alternates musical notes within and between the paragraphs. He refers to popular Argentinian and classical music and composition, makes reference to lyrics, and displays his phonological awareness using metaphors and metalinguistic phrases.

At the same time, he conveys the story displaying strategies of both written and oral language and complex narrative devices.[51] The word plays a very important role in his quest to shape a written archive to understand his identity. This meta-reflective quality is also a recurring element in the poetic voice in Peri Rossi's collection of poems. Rolando assumes different registers, including a meta-narrator, a non-personal voice/storyteller, and a writer/storyteller: "No sé si me va a salir (esta historia). Lo mío es la música, antes que las palabras. Para mí todo este asunto de tener que salir del país comenzó cuando estaba lustrando mi violín bajo la parra…distraído, lustrando como quien canta o lee" (11). From the beginning, he frames a metanarrative novel that "openly reflect(s) upon [its] own processes of artful composition" (Baldick).

In several interviews, Moyano mentions that before beginning the writing process he would perform his stories orally. It was from this oral improvisation that he would go on to develop the written version. During the opening chapter, and in different metarrative sections in *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas*, the narrator simulates an active reader-audience relationship by employing structures and devices from the oral tradition: "Nos hemos reunido aquí para *oír* la historia de un viaje….Permítanme entonces ocupar unas horas el lugar de ese viajero nórdico para contar *mi propio viaje*" (9, 10, emphases added). He creates a close relationship with the audience and a reliable frame by using the first person

[51] Comparisons to Moyano are inevitable due to these commonalities: violinist, novelist, exiled person. Later in the novel, Rolando mentions that he spends his days sanding in a Spanish factory, just as Moyano did.

plural—the voice of the community going into exile—while using the singular form to address Rolando's thoughts, memory and feelings, and to acknowledge his own existence.

These literary strategies are also apparent in the dynamic of the multiple voices mediating the interpretation of the story. The author transfers his vivid expression to his characters and emphasizes their possibilities of imaginative creativity as storytellers. The reader follows a first person protagonist—both in plural and singular—who is conscious of telling a story, constantly addressing the audience, and revealing himself to be an unreliable narrator, an imperfect witness who often corrects himself. This is the case from the opening of the novel to the end, when the ship arrives to Barcelona and the narrator discloses his "original" narrative intentions.

The constant allusions to the seven hundred exiles nourishes a common but unfinished thread. The narrator even accepts the undefinition of the novel as a genre, which is evident at the end, when he describes a half-completed story: "me propuse escribir un capítulo breve sobre la salida del barquito en el puerto de Buenos Aires, para pasar inmediatamente a Madrid, que es el núcleo de esta historia" (364). And he hastily continues, "Ahora ya no queda tiempo para eso y lo único que se puede hacer es hallar la perilla que corresponda para el apagón…" (366). The end of the long story is barely an incidental episode of a bigger writing project.

Regarding the atmosphere of the narrative, silence discloses the hidden grief and traumas more than what is explicitly stated. The playful narrator constantly alludes to the reader with metanarrative techniques. The variety of registers alternates the stories of the characters in free indirect speech, or alternating with the third person. When speaking in plural, Rolando generates empathy and involvement, but the voice is ambiguous and demands careful reading. When using the first person, Rolando exposes his fears; his stream

of consciousness reveals his creative processes when, for example, when he narrates the puppet play and plays the part of one of the characters, he plans his diary/travel log and love story, or when the group writes a collective story for Contardi. The journey and the text are his means of analyzing the national history and recovering his identity. Metanarrative techniques become an extension of the philosophical quest to understand existence. This first happens on an individual level, when Rolando decides to write a travel log, then it occurs with the collective in Chapter "V. Titiriteando." It happens for a third and final time when the group of travelers decides to give comfort to Contardi with a story of a lighthouse.

The musician and the writer sail together on the sea of exile. Rolando's ear is doubly well trained, as both a violinist and an oral storyteller. Once on the sea, the magnitude of the waters disorientates the body, the sea makes the travelers seem smaller due to the force of its impetuous movement. Performing freedom is a constant challenge when the possibility of a wreck is always latent: "Tan poderoso, que para él (el mar) las migraciones o los naufragios son menudencias cotidianas" (28). Bodies disoriented by traumatic occurrences have to find relocation in the ambiguous and restless liquid stage of the sea. The ocean also forms part of Rolando's self-awareness and reflections about the body: "más que saber cómo es el mar me interesa ser como el mar, el mar mismo, en una palabra, una vez que descubra sus signos. En esa situación, sólo en esa, podré distraerlo de sus tentaciones de naufragio, de su violencia y su mundo sin justicia" (217). The somatic re-learning is closely related to his sensitivity as a musician and this empiric source of knowledge breaks epistemological standards: "Por vía puramente auditiva, estoy en los bordes del secreto de este mar.…En cuanto descubra su tonalidad me pondré a vibrar en sus mismas cuerdas y seré el esqueleto de un caracol sobre la repisa de cualquier parte del mundo" (218).

Rolando comprehends his bodily-vulnerability through the objects he cares for the most, like his violin: “Los instrumentos encierran la música, de la misma manera que los hombres encierran la vida en su delicado mecanismo viviente. Los hombres son débiles y milagrosos como los violines” (12). He recalls with sorrow his abandoned violin, *Gryga,* as if he were thinking of all the prisioners who did not survive: “A pesar de su fragilidad lo soportan todo, hasta la muerte, que es lo último que puede sucederle a un hombre” (12). The instrument is an important agent that also indicates the watershed moment in Rolando’s life, the moment he refers to as “el tiempo anterior a la caída del violín” (24), which is the day of his arrest. The falling violin symbolizes the threshold between reality and the unreal. As I have mentioned, he searches in his memory for earlier times that help him to survive and better understand his present.

Rolando reveals a failed state, a criminal state that has pushed its citizens towards the most vulnerable positions. In this situation, the political space becomes a dark and dangerous alley: “A ese callejón sin salida llaman realidad y en nombre de ella imponen sacrificios a los justos, cuando esa supuesta realidad es ficticia desde el momento en que sólo puede mantenerse por la fuerza de las armas” (70), one crew member of the *Cristóforo Colombo* reflects, empathizing with Rolando. This Spanish cook has been navigating in exile since 1939 and he helps frame the anti-war ethics and strength that will prepare Rolando for his own disquisitions into coping with exile and repression. The cook continues to criticize the military’s methods, supposedly founded in the collective wellbeing: “Del mismo modo convierten a los hombres reales en ficciones, para salvaguardar mediante el inmovilismo el esquema cavernario” (70). Innocence becomes an essential reference, a guide to understanding the incomprehensible transformation of reality, and the cook shows his empathy by reaffirming the value of life in the right to be free and trustworthy:

> Sois inocentes [los exiliados] porque los que no lo son tienen la fuerza, y ya se ha dicho que la fuerza no es más que una casualidad nacida de la debilidad de los demás. Los inocentes pasan por el mundo cambiando sus maravillosas realidades por un rincón y un plato de comida, sencillamente porque se niegan a vivir en la ficción pero no pueden o no alcanzan a ver que son ellos los únicos que podrían devolver la realidad al mundo.

The cook continues to provide support and comfort to Rolando and presents a critique of the totalitarian regime imposed by the military junta. His disquisitions lay out the tone that the main characters use to develop their own mechanisms of re-adaptation, especially in terms of the life energies Eros and Thanatos, where the drive to live is connected to their somatic freedom and personal realities, and the death drive is not related to self-destruction but is imposed from outside: loss, torture, prison, dictatorship, exile, and death, i.e. state terrorism.

Being uncertain about and reflecting on reality are also common features of other characters of this novel. Characters often lack certitude about what is real and what is unreal. This is more consistent in those who do not consider themselves political militants or political opponents, such as Contardi or Rolando. The Spanish cook recommends to Rolando that he contact his niece, Nieves, who lives in Madrid. And the narrator starts fantasizing about an encounter with an idealized woman. As previously mentioned, this female character helps Rolando cope with his painful memories of prison. In addition, as Bonnardel has observed, Nieves introduces a bridge between the immediate past, the broken new reality that began when Rolando was cleaning *Gryga* for the last time, and an inspiring future.

The presence of a Spanish exile, still wandering without a homeland in 1976, completes the map of Hispanic exile during the 20th century. I will discuss this further in the next chapter, which is about the painter José Balmes. By juxtaposing this crewman, who has been sailing in international waters for more than 30 years, with the other Southern Cone travelers fleeing military dictatorships, the author represents the impact that political intolerance has on the lives of regular citizens unable to assimilate the dehumanization and hatred of periods of arm conflict. Flusser describes the three phases of the process of exile: "being expelled, wandering in the void, and finally, being beached somewhere. The first phase unsettles us out of the ground that supports our reality; the second exposes us to unreality; the third transports us into an unacceptable second-degree reality" (25). As the Spanish character shows, in most cases, exile is an endless journey. As Rolando's narrative development shows, exile and violence disrupt the individual in such a serious way that life is never the same again. The exiled subject is relocated in new layers of reality that allow him to move forward, regardless of whether or not he returns to his home nation.

When Henry Dunant was working for greater protection of soldiers during war, armies mostly faced each across battlefields. However, during the 20th century, the nature of war changed in ways that had not been anticipated by the innovations of Dunant and the Red Cross. Direct attacks on defenseless civilian populations— like Guernica in 1937, or the bombing of refugees crossing the Pyrenees in 1939 that Balmes depicted in his artwork— became more frequent. Aerial bombardments produced new forms of forced displacement of groups that lacked any formal international protection until the creation of the International Refugee Organization in 1946. Before this date, displaced peoples depended on individual cases of altruistic protection and precarious forms of solidarity. Civilians were the target of devastation and exclusion due to deliberately committed acts by military and security forces

throughout the 20th century. New forms of vulnerability beset civilians who were not part of any political affiliation, guerrilla group or army faction. As Hannah Arendt observes in "We the Refugees" (1943), "Now 'refugees' are those of us who have been so unfortunate as to arrive in a new country without means and have to be helped by refugee committees" (264). Rolando and his friends display this forms of extreme vulnerability. In this sense, by excluding certain bodies-humans-citizens, the Argentine dictatorship exalted a distorted discourse that violated rights, disunited the traits of the subject with partial judgments, and impoverished the epistemological source of worldmaking through the corporeal experience.

However, rather than remaining in isolation, the collectivity traveling with Rolando provides a place of haven and encounter, possibility and hope. The social body provides the means to reencounter self-assurance and poise. It is on the ship, a space of freedom, that the protagonist begins to rebuild confidence in his body, in citizenry and in humanity. This is revealed in the scene where Rolando wants to go to his cabin and drink whisky alone, but el Gordito asks him to stay with the group: "con voz aplomada todavía, en su normal registro grave pero con timbre de flauta, me pidió que me quedara. Que no era noche para masoquearse a solas, que era mejor estar juntos para lo que viniera" (238).

When boarding the ocean liner, Rolando starts to recover his freedom through his bodily dimension: "por fin el pie izquierdo se desprendía también de la madre tierra" (41). From a place of precariousness and indigence—wearing clothes, tying his shoelaces, putting on a belt—the protagonist struggles to regain mental and emotional stability, but he is free at last. Even wearing clothes that belonged to another prisoner gives rise to an awareness of the importance of daily life: "En la valija que me dejó un preso que trasladaron al otro lado estaba mi ropa vieja, la que tenía puesta el día que me separé del (violín) *Gryga*. Azul del pantalón y blanco de la camisa conectándome con un tiempo irrecuperable. Y el cinturón

medio cuarteado, qué maravilla ese cuero familiar" (24). Rolando is overwhelmed by these somatic sensations.

Minimal details bring his bodily experience back to his hands, and take him to a prior time. Life is infinitely different for him now; what once were common activities are now deautomatized or defamiliarized achievements, as literary critic Viktor Schklovsky has proposed (*ostranenie*). The shock of fleeing, like the trauma of being in prison, makes the subject discover that things that were taken for granted become unfamiliar when recovering freedom. The somatic experience is an immediate vehicle to relocate in this new circumstance.[52] The clothes do not just cover the body, they become an extension of it. In this sense, wearing the clothes of someone who has probably been *disappeared* serves as a tribute and an expression of gratitude to that person.

Once Rolando is free, he finds that there is an unstable breach between the period prior to his detention and his present moment on the ocean liner. Between one period and the other there is the arrival of the military junta, the collapse of any form of meaning, and the loss of a familiar life. This extreme sense of vulnerability is expressed in his bodily experience.

2.4. Sandra, Patriarchal Violence and Collective Resistance

The body is a whole that finds balance when it settles and interrelates with its environment. The body forms part, Anzaldúa suggests, of entire life systems. When it develops inside a new space, the body will find adaptation mechanisms for relearning, as the travelers show when they try to relocate themselves using geographical references—a compass, the stars, the equator. This capacity for relearning is also present in the way the

[52] As Burke underlines, many exiles experience in a new light what used to be a familiar surroundings, just as Shklovski probably theorized about the artistic technique called "defamiliarization" inspired by his own experience in exile in Germany (137).

passengers readjust to their personal stories of violence and torture by finding imaginary refuges; seeking answers in the collective story of political repression; or engaging in historical retrospection in order to understand the times they are living in. Some of the passengers need to create a parallel reality, like Rolando analyzing time in layers between what is real (the past before his detention), and unreal (his time in prison). Other passengers need to forget, like Sandra who chooses to remain silent in her attempt to recognize herself free from memories of torture. "Lo mejor es olvidarlos (a los torturadores), al menos eso me da la ilusión de que no existen y me permite seguir siendo Sandra," she explains to other passengers, yearning to rewrite her painful somatic memories.

Two female characters configure a different sense of gender relations in the novel. One is Nieves, a secondary character who is essentially a fantasy figure that Rolando develops in order to escape his traumatic imprisonment. She enables him to create a narrative stage on which to project his hopes for what is to come in Spain.[53] Nieves is an allegory of a better future. However, in this section I want to highlight the representation of the Uruguayan traveler, Sandra, and the configuration of the body that results from her experience of being raped and tortured while in prison.

In Chapter "X. Diario de a Bordo," the *Cristóforo Colombo* carries the passengers into the Northern Hemisphere. They bid farewell to the Crux constellation (la Cruz del Sur), and leave the southern celestial sphere, setting for their terrible experiences of trauma and violence, behind. The travelers improvise a celebration for their arrival beneath a new sky. "El cambio de estrellas viene siendo algo así como un año nuevo, ¿ves tú?, decía por ahí un chilenito llenando copas, mientras Osiris y otros uruguayos descorchaban más botellas" (234), Rolando narrates. But the joy ceases when Sandra lifts her arm and accidentally

reveals her past, the torture marks on her skin: "escondió rápidamente su brazo adulterado." She tries to avoid the subject, but the truth has come to the surface:

> El brazo vaciló como alguien desnudado de un tirón en plena calle y se ocultó enseguida.
>
> –Dios, qué es eso, quemaduras o qué—fue todo lo que dijo Bidoglio, con una voz horrible.
>
> El brazo alterado fue rápido para desaparecer, pero las palabras de Bidoglio no…iban pasando de babor a estribor por encima de nosotros las palabras. Y nosotros esperando que acabaran de pasar…para que la tortura de Sandra pasase lo más rápido posible hacia la irrealidad (241).

Some of the Argentine psychoanalysts also journeying into exile try to raise awareness among the passengers about the importance of laying the foundations for a better future by acknowledging memory and truth, even if such memories and truths are painful. "Evitando hablar de ellos (los torturadores) no vamos a suprimir su realidad. Existen, y ocultarlos es la peor manera de perdernos, seríamos cómplices de ellos en nuestra propia destrucción. Como si vos misma, uruguayita, te hubieras hecho eso que tenés en los brazos y en otras partes de tu cuerpo" (244). For Sandra however, her truth is still unutterable. Her wound is too recent, and her body is still rearranging itself within its pain, preventing her from sharing her story.

Victims of crimes of sexual violence often remain silent because of shame, because they prefer to testify against other detentions or denounce different forms of generalized torture, or because there are structural obstacles to obtaining justice. As the Chilean lawyer Roberto Garretón explains, there are not enough public policies that react promptly to

[53] Moyano develops the symbolism of this character in his posthumous novel *Dónde Estás con tus Ojos Celestes*, in which an Argentinian musician travels to Spain in search of his first love, or what he thinks he

address impunity, while both medical and judicial systems fail to provide victims with adequate resources and support (in Urdangarain 3, 52–54). Society refuses to confront these crimes, and the victim suffers multiple times: within the family, within society and within the state. Feelings of ignominy and guilt (or even of responsibility) and corruption obstruct people's right to justice, so they prefer to say nothing: "El olvido se convierte en la mejor memoria" (Ríos y Brocate, 2017). As Sandra admits, "Eso está por encima de mis posibilidades" (244), conceding defeat in her silence.

Sandra refuses to get involved in any discussion about her experience, as if her pain was just a personal and private grievance: "Si yo fuera un barco y aceptara conscientemente la existencia del naufragio, perdería mis conexiones con el mar, ya no sabría navegar. No valdría la pena. Ese naufragio, además, es una relación muy íntima y última entre el barco y el mar. Y es muy feo andar ventilando esas intimidades" (244). Nonetheless, as Segato has astutely observed, *sexual* violence is not merely an opportunistic act of rape, it is closely linked to the order of power. Indeed, as the anthropologist highlights, "la expresión patriarcal-colonial-modernidad describe adecuadamente la prioridad del patriarcado como apropiador de las mujeres y de éste como la primera colonia" (*Guerra* 17). No conquest is achievable without violence, which imposes an order of victorious masculinity over an obedient masculinity, underlines Segato. The historical revisionism that Moyano presents through the homonymous *Cristóforo Colombo*, Paredes the puppeteer, and Rolando's grandfather's migration, acquires greater relevance in the sense that it alludes to the necessary revision of the various paradigms of modernity that shaped Argentina and the development of the nation—the Conquest, the Republic, and the waves of European immigration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This is especially true because the

remembers about her.

origins of violence are closely connected with the origins of modern states. As occurred throughout the Western world, modernity relied on the discourse of oppositional binaries to found the most brutal and lethal patriarchal systems. References to these time frames (1492, 1810, 1939, 1976, etc.) are an unchanging topic in 20th century exile and immigration literature, not only in the Americas but also in Latina/o communities in the US. For Moyano to develop a story of transgenerational trauma and a critical revision or parody of the past (distant and recent) in his novel is neither gratuitous nor trivial.

However, the specific type of sexual violence that Sandra experiences urges us to analyze the concept pair of public vs. private spaces. Female gender identity and sexuality—like behaviors, attitudes, and appearances related to femininity—has been relegated to the domestic space, i.e. an invisible and violented site where women have lost their political agency:

> [En épocas anteriores] Había un espacio doméstico plenamente político también, pero se perdió totalmente cuando en la modernidad el espacio político se transforma en estado… y el espacio doméstico se transforma en el resto de lo político, en la nada de lo político; se transforma en lo íntimo. [Ahí] es que morimos las mujeres y nuestras muertes no son atendidas ni entendidas porque son todo el tiempo empujadas—aunque sean muertes bélicas—al campo de la intimidad y de la libido. (Segato, *Cuerpos*)

Gender, Segato suggests, is assembled in this historical configuration, and the feminine body is a political object relegated to the invisibility of the private space. Sexual violence against women is political violence and it displays the narrative of the defeated, subordinated, dominated, disciplined, and obedient woman (Segato, *Guerra*). In modernity, the female body is itself marginalized to the private space (domesticity, maternity, fecundity,

breastfeeding, raising the children or taking care of the elderly). It becomes an object of crimes, in both the public and private spheres, but it is rarely a subject of justice. Patriarchy is the foundation for all forms of inequality, and *disappearing*, torturing, expelling bodies is the zenith of such inequality.

These are the deep-rooted reasons why sexual violence has been minimized, both in the context of the Southern Cone dictatorships—with the silence of victims, torturers and transitional governments—and during the years when other related crimes became public complaints. It is still an understudied topic in our societies**.** According to Ksenija Bilbija, Ana Forcinito and Bernardita Llanos, for example, it wasn't until 2010 that sexual violence became recognized as a crime against humanity in Argentina, while female militants who were the victims of state terrorism, like Sandra, have been especially neglected. Violence against women, often trivialized, forms part of large, historically sedimented imaginaries. Hierarchical gender relations have left women as objects of control. This is truer of some women than others when seen from an intersectional perspective. During times of conflict, the female body become a suspect and a target of war strategy: "[guerra] que involucró como táctica sistemática concomitante a la de la tortura, la del ejercicio de la violencia sexual" (3), as Giovanna Urdangarain has stated. This topic reopens a discussion of the politics of memory, and of the possibilities of interpreting memory in the Southern Cone.

Sara Merger observes, "The law can have an important role [to address the intersectionality of sexual violence in conflict]. This is so because it is through the law that society constructs and knows 'what counts' as a crime" (191). Nonetheless, when judges—frequently male judges—exonerate, or reduce the sentence of, perpetrators, they are diminishing the real impact of those crimes and ignoring the systems of oppression that—on

a larger scale—are being validated in such forms of violence.[54] If legal and judicial systems become complicit in the totalitarian state, society has no way of holding the state accountable for those crimes. Silence makes invisible and of concern only to the individual a violent crime that has a political origin and a complex social meaning.

In the novel, Sara discloses her suffering to Rolando—but the reader only has a sense of her confession due to the narrator's shock in Chapter "XI. Cadenza." The poetics of silence that prevails in the novel keeps Sandra's untold story a secret. Rolando, as first-person narrator, is not able to convey Sandra's circumstances fully and prefers to give the audience a partial record of the details. However, Sandra's account disarms the protagonist who feels vulnerable again, as he did after his release at the beginning of the novel. His body is deeply affected by the circumstances because he comprehends higher levels of unimaginable cruelty and horror; he realizes that there are worse and more devastating forms of violence than what he was subjected to: "Necesito un trago que me aturda para salir del otro aturdimiento (su propia detención), yo no sé nada de picanas y vaginas. Es demasiado para mi violincito provinciano" (256). Finding out about such extreme levels of violence against women generates feelings of indirect guilt for Rolando as a man: "Todo esto me invalida en forma y pensamiento. Me odio, no me gusta mi forma, me molestan los brazos y las piernas, preferiría reptar, me duele el pensamiento, me odio, soy horrible, quiero cambiar de cara, ser un hombre de verdad." His own traumatic event dislocated him as a historical subject, as a musician, as the grandson of an European immigrant. And now, Sandra's story

[54] The feminist group and women's rights grassroots movement Ni Una Menos—which has recently spread from Argentina to other Latin American countries—has been raising awareness about gender-based violence and revictimization in cases of femicide when courts rule in favor of male suspects. The case of a 16-year-old girl who was brutally sexually abused and viciously murdered in 2016 prompted a purple surge across the Americas. In 2018, three male federal judges acquitted the accused of charges of sexual violence, despite the evidence, and only convicted them of selling drugs to a minor. This became a symbolic case that ignited purple flames in cities around the globe. However, far from being an isolated occurrence, it is part of a systematic method of denigrating the female body and of revictimization in cases of gender-based violence (Colectivo Ni Una Menos).

adds an extra layer of disconnection from his male gender identity: "quiero cambiar…ser un hombre de verdad. Sí, ¿pero con estos brazos? Ahora no sé dónde ponerlos, me sobran, han llegado a ser algo tremendamente insufrible…. no quiero esta cara ni estos recuerdos, necesito ser otro definitivamente, siempre me odié por algo que no sabía concretamente qué era y ahora ya lo sé, Sandra me lo aclaró perfectamente" (256). Rolando's body withdraws once again, both as a mechanism of defense and as a way of trying to understand the incident. He came into contact with a process of awareness and empathy, not only with Sandra but with all Sandras. When one of them is hurt, everyone is hurt. The collective is in pain. When solidarity enters the scene, the narrative in the novel changes, the space-time sequence ceases, a respectful silence is a form of healing.

The rape and torture that the Uruguayan woman underwent reveals that those crimes are an attempt to ensure that women's lives are submitted to men's decisions. When a dominant masculinity claims the right to make decisions on Sandra's life and body, the precarity that she experiences as a political prisoner intensifies. Rolando's need for Nieves in order to cope with his trauma disappears at this point in the novel. Sandra's story places the narration in the present, in the here and now, where solidarity is essential because fear of violence is experienced differently by men and women. The group of exiles is deeply affected by the underlying truth of Sandra's arm: "ya no estábamos para hablar de estrellas o de vaguedades parecidas, lo de Sandra nos había desconectado dejando a cada uno con su propio *lo*: lo del Gordito, lo de Contardi, lo de Paredes y así hasta setecientos" (242). This moment serves as a trigger for others to disclose their own horror stories: "mezclando miserias y sueños con el alcohol…se secreteaban las verdades, con caras y voces de rincones de velorios," says Rolando (238). The arrival of "the new sky," which seemed to bring hope and haven for the travelers, suddenly becomes a moment of withdrawal for el Gordito,

grieving the killing of his son, or for Paredes, who cries in silence under the new stars, or for the Jewish psychoanalysts, who intervene with reflections on the Holocaust, cruelty and memory. “Con lo de Sandra íbamos perdiendo la inocencia, y era hora de mandar nuestros pinceles y violines y muñecos al carajo” (257) is Rolando’s harsh reaction to the situation. Their recent past takes a huge psychological toll on the travelers once again.

Reflections on all forms of violence and on the human rights violations that occurred during the dictatorship make the interconnections between gender inequality and political and economic structures visible. Sara Meger proposes that there are three interlinked processes in conflict-related sexual violence: “local gender norms and socialization; neoliberal globalizations; and, the global political economy of armed conflict” (2). Discourses about family values and the reasoning that the Argentine Catholic Church and military used to justify the kidnappings and “apropiaciones” of children of political prisoners are some examples of regulations imposed on the body through biopower to control life and disassemble subjectivity. At the same time, those tactics were forms of depriving women of maternity and preventing grandmothers from getting their grandchildren back. The system intervenes and administrates both public and private spaces.

The performativity of such discourses has laid out firm conceptions that have naturalized all forms of violence against women and the corporeal order. “Ha de estar con el novio, señora,” was the usual brazen response to mothers who were looking for their missing daughters. In the words of Meger, “both capitalism and patriarchy are necessary subjects for the study of sexual violence in conflict. Both systems are hierarchical and exploitative and rely on the use of violence as a means of self-preservation, suppressing dissent, and maintaining each system” (11). In the case of Latin America, another

intersectional layer of modernity-colonialism overlaps with other Western systems of oppression.

Rolando realizes how gender identity participates in this normalized dynamic. As a result, he rejects not only violence, but anything that might link him to the structures of power that comes with male privilege and male docility: "necesito ser otro definitivamente" (256). Even though he does not develop an affirmation of radical equality, including Sandra's story in the narrative expands the scope of analysis of *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas* and gives space to the topic of sexual violence, which mostly remained marginal in exile literature.

The social and historical mechanisms that underlie sexual violence and gender relations have become more visible in more recent years. Just as the white scarf is a herald of the green and purple scarves in contemporary feminist activism and mobilization, the collective cry of "Nunca Más"—the public clamor for justice for the thirty thousand missing people—influenced the Ni Una Menos movement in 2015. "Not One (Woman) Less" means that not one more female body or feminized body—transgender and indigenous peoples—will be lost to violence. The current global backlash of a fervent patriarchal bigotry (what Segato calls "fanatismo patriarcal militante") is reinstalling hate, misogynist and homophobic violence in the Americas, particularly in the Southern Cone after the fall of the pink tide.[55] This is why the understudied topic of violence against women is an urgent matter for interdisciplinary analysis. Public space has been reconfigured by the public outcry to visibilize the systematic origin and causes of what Segato has astutely called "the war against women."

[55] As Laura Martins analyzes, the Proceso de Reorganización Nacional prepared the field for neoliberalism impositions: "Se olvida que todo el sistema neoliberal está asentado sobre el terror y la muerte" (Rozitchner parr. 7). The military intervention was only part of economic projects towards a transnational market without

Violence affects the collective, and this is why the collective responds in plural. The collective utterance intensifies the social bond and recognizes the powerful connection between each member. The first-person plural voices that intervene in Peri Rossi's collection, Moyano's novel and Balmes' images (as we will see in the next chapter), expand the understanding of the individual as part of a collective whole. The I/we is indissoluble. In the same way, the bodies that go through exile are reconfigured in otherness, in the gaze of the other and in belonging to the collective social body.

Current feminist movements and grassroot mobilizations are grounded in the solidarity initiated by the Argentine mothers walking in pairs. The transformation of the social body happens by intervening in political spaces. Anzaldúa expresses the power of hearing, for the first time, a woman saying "*nosotras*"—considering that in Spanish the masculine grammatical gender is dominant and determines the plural for a group. A chorus using the plural feminine form intensifies the presence of the collective voice that has historically been silenced.

Rolando uses a beautiful anaphora to open Chapter "X" (in which he conveys Sandra's story): "*Anoche empezaron a cambiar las estrellas*." In this way, he announces the beginning of his travel memoir for future generations, a personal travel log for his grandchildren: "Si mi abuelo hubiese anotado todo en un cuaderno, ese hubiese sido mi verdadero pasaporte" (223). The narrator plays with the long stablished literary genre of travel literature: "a leer en alta mar por descendientes migrantes que no alcanzaron a conocerme…Un diario de a bordo escrito sin miedos para ser leído dentro de unos años, cuando haya pasado esta tormenta absurda" (224, 236). However, despite his intentions, by using a metanarrative strategy Rolando is actually avoiding introducing Sandra's story:

state intervention. The truth instrumentalization was carried out by Carlos Menem (1989-1999). In this sense, the subjugation of subjectivities beyond the dictatorship is closely related to economic strategies (Martins).

"Yeso es todo, lo siento, ahí terminó mi diario de navegación, el más corto que conozco. A partir de ahí, se ve que di por anotado lo pensado" (224-225). About halfway through the voyage, and the novel, the narrator intertwines the topic of migration with the most difficult and painful scene of political repression in the whole story: "Bueno, pero cuando empecé esta parte de la historia mi propósito era hablar de lo que pasó con Sandra" (240).

The successive repetition of the sentence "*Anoche empezaron a cambiar las estrellas*" throughout the short chapter increases the contrast between the horror of torture and the most mystical moment for the travelers. The pain of their pasts undermines and casts shadows over a scene of joy and self-confidence, souring the promise of a new beginning. The celebration ends in a bitter synesthesia, an echo of the Holocaust: "el zumbido *ausch* que salió del barco…y se alejó hasta un *witz* que cayó en el mar y se apagó….Más que un barco esto parece un campo de concentración" (242, 243). Not only is the Holocaust embodied in *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas* by the group of 30 Jewish psychoanalysts, it is also reflected in the real practices of forced disappearance that Southern Cone dictatorships copied from the Nazi military regime. I will analyze this in more detail in the chapter about Chile and the artwork of José Balmes.

2.5. Contardi: Dispensable Bodies (vs. Hegemonic Bodies)

Los 30 000 fueron, son y serán un símbolo que llenaron
una inmensa latitud en todo el mundo. Recorrieron redacciones, calles, pasacalles,
solicitadas, cárceles, homenajes, pintadas,
debates y blancos pañuelos. Manifestaciones, sindicatos y fábricas.
Literatura y literatos. Religiosos, ateos y pocos entierros.
Una deuda interna insoslayable frente a la mirada del mundo.

Ernesto Conti, Homenaje a 40 años de la Desaparición de Haroldo Conti[56]

[56] Haroldo Conti (1925-1976?) was kidnapped and *disappeared* on May 5th, 1976. To commemorate his *disappearance*, May 5th is the Day of the Writer in Buenos Aires. Moyano honors the memory of this very close friend with the characterization of Contardi.

Arrimarles un faro para hacerles una señal, para que puedan ver
en lo oscuro y reencontrar sus partes y poder decir adiós.
Un faro para que no se sientan tan solos en la parte más o menos
consciente de ese viaje. Recuperar el ritmo de la vida
para poder tener el ritmo de morir.

Contardi en "XII. El Faro," *Libros de Navíos y Borrascas*

The celestial sphere is a point of body relocation for the travelers, as we see in their celebration of "the new sky." It also introduces an interesting parallelism between the thousand million stars in the galaxy—as Bidoglio explains to his friends—and the travelers. Throughout the novel, the narrator uses a range of derogative adjectivizations when referring to the seven hundred exiles: "esta historia también es de *fantasmas*" (10); "setecientos *no deseables*" (11); "trasladando la *basura* de un lado para otro" (188); "[somos] *basura* que iba trasladando el timonel" (204); "somos setecientos *idiotas* que no estuvimos con *nadie*" (250, where 'nobody' is themselves); setecientos *indeseables*, *indignos* del Cono Sur (207); *inocentes inútiles* (238), setencientos *imbéciles* que viajamos en este barco (272) (emphases added). Nonetheless, he uses the number of stars to describe them for the first time in more positive terms: "Era un barquito galáctico la tierra llevando setecientos mil millones de exiliados sin poder fiarse de la brújula, setecientos mil millones de *inocentes*" (257) (emphases added). Rolando immediately moves towards a new definition of seven hundred stars in ill health due to the presence of the people of the Southern Cone: "sus setecientos mil millones de *desaparecidos*. Aquí, donde se le acaba el aguante a nuestra madre" (257, emphases added).

Forced disappearance is introduced in the poignant story of the painter Contardi in chapters "XII. El faro," "XIII. El Colibrí," and "XIV. Como una ilusión marina." From the beginning of the novel, the narrator creates an atmosphere of suspense and tension, like a ghost story. "Y tomando prestado el clima de los viejos relatos sobre fantasmas mi burda historia real puede ganar en fantasía y entrar decentemente en el mundo de la comprensión,

contándola como al descuido y un poco para olvidarme de ella" (10), Rolando says, expressing his need to forget painful memories. Just like in any sea story, he mentions the inevitable subject of the shipwreck and human loss: "retratos ovales de los marineros que desaparecieron en el mar," "un mar furioso," "un farero […] hace girar las luces sobre olas y desgracias," "esta noche puede haber pescadores desaparecidos" (10). The lighthouse is another recurrent element in the semantic field of this journey. Rolando and the group use it in their reflections about the painful trauma of the thirty thousand missing people.

During the 1970-1980s, the Spanish word "desaparecido" came to be a transnational category in Latin America for the figure of the person —most commonly a political activist— abducted by the state and paramilitary forces, illegally detained and extrajudicially executed. In the novel, Rolando emphasizes the complexity and violence of daily life under state terrorism: "Es la primera vez que temenos que salir tantos. Sin contar con los que no pudieron salir. Y los desaparecidos, claro. Desaparecido, esa palabra. Ella sola, moviéndose, como el mar, en un código desconocido…. Tan vasta como el mar, pero oculta. Sola. No existen relatos de naufragios de ese mar paralelo…. Un desaparecido jamás podría volver de ese otro océano…." (45-46). The untiring search for those *absent bodies*—a strange oxymoron of the legal concept *habeas corpus*—became the silent proof of crimes systematically committed by repressive governments all over the region, and it also turned into the foundation for human rights activism. Such was the cynicism of the military junta in Argentina that they flatly denied clandestine detentions and extrajudicial killings, even going so far as to erase registers of victims, ignoring any *habeas corpus* presented by lawyers and human rights defenders.[57] In 1979, the junta was at the center of international attention when the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights visited the country, and in

[57] In 1979, as part of its media propaganda, the government flaunted the slogan: "En Argentina somos derechos y humanos," to counteract the impact of serious reports about human rights violations.

October Pope John Paul II mentioned the crimes of forced disappearance in Chile and Argentina during a homily at St. Peter's Square. By the end of that year, Jorge Rafael Videla gave a press conference and journalist José Ignacio López dared to ask about this topic. Dressed in civilian clothes, the dictator responded with an astonishing and incoherent speech that went around the world:

> Si el hombre apareciera tendrá un tratamiento X. Y si la desaparición se convirtiera en certeza de su fallecimiento tiene un tratamiento Z. Pero mientras sea desaparecido no puede tener ningún tratamiento especial, es una incógnita, es un desaparecido, no tiene entidad, no está, ni muerto ni vivo, está desaparecido. Frente a eso no podemos hacer nada, atendemos sí a la consecuencia palpitante, viva de esa desaparición, que es el familiar. (December 14, 1979)

This unfortunate statement is enforcing the elimination of the human attributes of the bodies—to use Judith Butler's terms—that have been tagged as enemies of the state. The state is rejecting the basic condition and major responsibility of protecting the lives of *all* bodies-humans-citizens, and it is also justifying disdain for such *desapariciones*. In *Bodies that Matter* (1993), Butler refers to bodies that are only important—or more precisely, that only *matter*—whereas they are *materialized*. What better way to eliminate marginalized bodies than literally disappearing or extracting them from the spaces where they belong and that belong to them? The figure of the *desaparecido* acquires particular significance during repressive periods that exalt binary nationalistic discourses, when those who do not fit into the hegemonic triad-concept of body-human-citizen become disposable to the system. By making bodies invisible, by dematerializing them, de facto governments deauthorize the voices, ideologies, cultural production, and matter (tangible and intangible) of said bodies.

This is the extreme consequence of the naturalization of structural racism, oppression, exploitation and intolerance. This terrifying and repulsive method of state terrorism dominates subjectivity and takes life to the limits of precariousness. Imposing discipline over the body through a path of extreme vulnerability is what Arendt denounced as a sign of the horrors of contemporary times (in "We Refugees").

According to Butler, abject bodies are not recognized as *human beings*. During totalitarian regimes, such bodies are expelled from the canonic center of what the dictatorship understands by "human." The same occurs with the recognition of citizenship. During the state of siege, the rights of citizens are limited, but what is even worse is that this repressive politics also eliminates the materiality of the body. The junta's intolerance extracts the body from the spaces in which it belongs and that belong to it. As the narrator, Rolando, states in *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas*, "El nombre de los individuos en cuestión (conosurenses o no), no estará más en los registros, se borrará de todas partes toda referencia a lo que hubiera hecho (de la parra y del *Gryga* nada por supuesto), y su paso por la vida quedará totalmente anulado como si jamás hubiese existido" (73).

Deep philosophical, ethical and political reflections are presented by characters who appear at the margins of the story. As Sara Bonnardel illustrates, their role is to be spokespersons for the narrator. When they intervene, the discourse acquires the tone of a master class. They are the Spanish crewman, the captain, the helmsperson, and Contardi, the painter. Contardi plays a pivotal role in the reflections about forced disappearance in Moyano's work. Like most of the main characters, Contardi has suffered imprisonment, but in addition to that, his son has been *disappeared*. The painter becomes the spokesman for victims of this crime. Almost as a riposte to the indolence of Videla's statement about the

missing persons, Contardi replicates and discusses a new concept that returns humanity to the victims objectualized by the repressor state:

> Si no sabemos bien qué es un muerto, y tampoco exactamente lo que es un ser viviente, entonces no vale la pena intentar una definición de desaparecidos. Por otra parte es un concepto falso, no existe. Esa precariedad de no saber bien qué es lo vivo ni lo muerto hace posible el crimen. Al fin y al cabo, dice el asesino, no sabemos bien qué es lo que matamos. Al no saber qué es lo uno o qué es lo otro, tiramos al bulto, a lo que se mueve en la oscuridad. Nuestros sentidos son torpes, valen menos que el olfato de un perro…. Una percepción más profunda de lo vivo detendría el dedo en el gatillo. No, diría el asesino, yo no lo puedo tirar a *eso*, es demasiado para mí. (276–77)

As with Arendt's concept of the banality of evil, Contardi expresses recognition of the fact that the crime is made possible due to the objectification of life and the incapacity for thought of the persecutor. This dangerous combination authorizes the extrajudicial execution of a body-human-citizen by making it into a trivial act. The painter continues,

> Creamos belleza para buscarnos, para no morirnos. Si supiéramos lo que somos, y tal como yo a veces alcanzo a intuirlo, no pintaríamos más, viviríamos ocupados en cuidar nuestra propia belleza milagrosa. Simplemente viviríamos, estaríamos siempre dentro del Quitasol, objetos bellos pulidos por los años en un país que se te parece, como en el poema de Baudelaire. Matamos porque no sabemos quiénes somos. Y hay todavía un detalle horrible: si los sentidos son insuficientes para mirar, están todavía los errores que proceden de la voluntad de no ver (y ésta es la raíz del crimen).

> En el campo de prisioneros donde estuve pude comprobarlo. En ese submundo artificial dejamos de ser hombres. En la mente de nuestros carceleros empieza nuestra metamorfosis. Y llega el momento crítico en que nos transformamos en ratas. Entonces el dedo se va solo hacia el gatillo. (277)

The artistic sensitivity of the Spanish painter enables him to extend the scope of the aesthetics of his painting to encompass the beauty of reality and an ethos for life. A lack of sensitivity, a non-educated perception, leads to a lack of ethos and a distorted moral perception. The references to visual arts and literature (*El Quitasol,* the painting by Goya, and *Paris Spleen*, the collection of prose poems by Baudalaire) and the decrying of the drowsiness of the senses, displays an expanded notion of understanding the world through embodied meaning-making. Without defending any radical political position, Contardi blames ignorance and the banalization of life for distorting human perception. As an artist, he has a well-developed epistemological system that connects his perception of the physic world to a recognition of beauty; that is to say, his body is an axis for thinking about and comprehending life; art and life are connected through embodied meaning. As scholar Mark Johnson has underlined, for Western philosophers, abstract conceptualization and reasoning relies on conceptual metaphors that are achieved through language. However, there is a vast source of worldmaking beyond language: "the idea that only words can have meanings ignores vast stretches on the landscape of human meaning-making. It leaves out anything that cannot be linguistically encoded, and it denies the status of *meaning* to most of the meaning-making that occurs beneath our conscious awareness and beneath representational structures" (Johnson 207).

Contardi develops an alternative reasoning about the *desaparecidos* through his artistic sensibility. As Johnson states, "art matters because it provides heightened, intensified, and highly integrated experiences of meaning, using all of our ordinary resources of meaning-making. To discover how meaning works, we should turn first to gesture, social interaction, ritual, and art, and only later to linguistic communication" (Johnson 208). The painter is also disarticulating the banality of Videla's statement with a great sensitivity, enriched by embodied-meaning-making, which is exactly what state terrorism marginalizes.

The body is barely considered as a source of knowledge. Historically it has been seen as a disposable Catholic-colony, as Catholic-military regimes have shown over five centuries of continental history. The bodies of political opponents are discursively constructed as possible sources of contamination, corrupting the social fabric with their Marxist ideologies, in conflict with the social order imposed by Videla's Western, Catholic, 'civilized' society. In this passage of the novel, Contardi is unveiling the complex systems of oppression that limit the freedom of subject, leading to the dark and macabre scenario established by the junta. Binary thought is a founding paradigm that still prevails in the modern Western concepts of body, nation, and meaning-making. However, the painter disarticulates the center-periphery relationships, proposes an embodied meaning and response to the *banality of evil* in Videla's statement.

From an aesthetic point of view, and from Contardi's perception of the real world, dichotomic truths are a source of ignorance, and a limitation on beauty. The illusory idea of progressive historical development that will supposedly lead humanity to a better future is based on a violent transfiguration of the world, on discrediting differentiated subjects based on an idea of otherness, and on vilifying life by objectifying humanity. Contardi continues,

"Aprender a mirar es aprender a vivir. ¿Se han preguntado alguna vez qué mira la mujer del Quitasol?... pintó una manera de mirar el mundo que se nos escapa. Hasta que no aprendamos a mirar no dejaremos de matarnos. En mi hijo, si lo mataron como parece, intentaron destruir, sin saber qué es, lo que está mirando esa mujer" (278). Without different frameworks for recognizing each other, humans are not capable of respecting all forms of expression of life in nature, in our surroundings, including human, animal and vegetal life.

The complex reality of the voice of the *desaparecido* lies in the incomplete process of mourning for relatives and friends—the reason Madres and Abuelas do not wear black scarfs—together with uncertainty and helplessness in the face of the lies of the official version of the history. In addition, as occurs with Sandra, the state deploys an intolerant and oppressive discourse that revictimizes those affected, including the victim and the victim's families and friends. "Ha de estar con el novio, señora," or "algo habrá hecho," are common phrases linked to the construction of an imaginary of embodiment that authorizes invisibility, indolence, and the dematerialization and *disappearance* of individuals. Forced disappearance is the most indolent way of avoiding responsibility for crimes, which are hidden with the body of the victim. Finding mass graves is to open a site for memory and justice. It is not only restoring identity to an abandoned body, it is also giving the family a sense of closure, and providing society with a site for truth. Contardi reflects on the open, ongoing process that results from the *death* of a *disappeared* person, and from a fragmented body that leaves traces behind it:

> El que muere naturalmente, el que se va directamente….ha ido recogiendo de sí todos sus vestigios, sus desprendimientos, y cuando no le queda nada, simplemente se va, es el que desaparece realmente, con todos sus retazos y deseos, dejando el camino libre.

There are apparent differences between extrajudicial execution and *disappearance*. Both el Gordito and Contardi lost a child, but the painter's sorrow is intensified by unending, transgenerational uncertainty, as Felipe's statement illustrates. The painter offers an alternative and highly lucid conceptualization of the *desaparecido*:

> Desaparecidos dicen ustedes, tan tranquilos, por no animarse a decir muertos….El que es privado de la vida violentamente no ha tenido tiempo de recoger nada, le matarán el cuerpo pero la mayor parte de él quedará por ahí, sus proyecciones energéticas, su proyecto vital, y todo eso se resistirá a la disolución, como los huesos de cualquier muerto, durante un tiempo más o menos largo. Bajo este punto de vista, un desaparecido es un muerto en un espacio vacío y con una especie de conciencia, el cuerpo muerto que busca sus retazos y proyecciones para poder irse (278-279)

The image depicting the state of the *desaparecido* provides another level of understanding to the concept of somatic geography. It is a body that leaves intangible traces tied to intimate bonds. No matter that the filial relation occurs in the private space (parenthood, siblinghood, upbringing), the family displays a radical love in the public space that fuels political action or cultural intervention. Contardi suggests to the rest of the travelers that a lighthouse would allow the *desaparecidos* to enjoy the eternal rest that has been denied them due to the violent circumstances of their deaths. In his art he articulates everyday materials with austerity in order to represent a life of extreme scarcity and insecurity: "Hay que intentar esa mirada (de la mujer del *Quitasol*). Ordenar estas maderitas, estos botones, estos desechos, buscando relaciones, réplicas de un universo que no tenemos aunque nos contenga" (278), says Contardi. His volatile art represents a prosaic view in the sense that he is reinforcing the importance of the ordinary and the everyday from an

aesthetic dimension. As Rolando explains, “eligió un faro porque es un pintor y todo lo ve plásticamente” (276). The lighthouse guides sailors on their way each day. The painter uses metonymy to extend this concept, offering a maritime haven and final destiny to the missing people. As with Rolando, for whom the simple act of tying his shoelaces deautomates the freedoms of daily life, the simple objects Contardi uses are his way of reflecting on the extension of the body by other means and on the interrelation between the materiality of the body and its necessary and solidary relationship with the external environment.

During their conversation with the painter, the travelers—Sandra, Bidoglio, el Gordito, Paredes and Rolando—introduce another metanarrative element: they want to comfort Contardi writing a collective story about a lighthouse that rescues the missing people, saving them from darkness. The storytelling turns into a new piece of metatheatre which, like theater, presupposes a collaborative performing art with collective modes of production. The travelers play themselves and are also the playwrights, relying on the collective reception of popular music. However, when they come to represent that *light,* they can only express collective impotence in their attempts to overcome their own feelings of loss, exclusion, and fear. Therefore, instead of showing the way, the light switches off, echoing Bonnardel’s statement that “Cada cambio implica una degradación de la fuente de luz hasta llegar a la oscuridad total” (17). We can see this in Chapter “XII. El faro,” with its tentative titles for the tale, which mock the original intentions: Historia del guardafaro – La hija del guardafaro – Historia del viejito guardafaro – El faro de los desaparecidos – El faro – El farol – El farolito – El fósforo – fsss – apagón. These titles are all proposed by the travelers and, like in the play with puppets, by a metafictional voice.

Once more in the novel, disturbed memories intrude on a scene of reflection, hope and creativity. This disruption of the travelers’ creative process—in their trying to write a

story—also happened to Moyano during his first years of exile: “Lo que intentaba escribir era visceral, patológico, mezclado con pesadillas... que terminaban en un cuartel, no podía escribir porque todo lo que escribía estaba prendido a esta desesperación,” (in interview with Graham-Yoll). However, the openness of the story, as Umberto Eco has observed, allows for a multiplicity of voices in literature and art. In this case, multiple narrators reveal the interactive process, not only between the text and the audience—Contardi as reader of the story or the ideal reader as audience for the novel—but between the text and the collective memory. Their doubts as a group, their questions as narrators are present in all the narrators and registers of the novel. They raise new questions about popular music, and regarding the artistic aesthetics of their story about the lighthouse, which they interweave into a more general debate on art and literature in the context of the intolerance of the military regime, exile and political persecution. The playful *writers-characters* also reinforce the metanarrative intention by making the story a palimpsest of a previous writing project, writing it in the notebook that Rolando tried to use for his ‘Diario de abordo.’ Sandra says, “Mirá, Rolando, casi la mitad de las hojas, al fin y al cabo tu Diario de a bordo ha servido para algo” (299). Their attempt to write the story of the lighthouse is a collective testimonial, just like the novel itself.

By naming the bodies of those who *disappeared*, they are made material. This is also a way to understand the mechanisms of social repression that do not stop with the end of the dictatorship but continue through the silence of complicit regimes. Intolerance and repression have been state policy during the recent history of Latin America— ever since the process of independence that started back in the 19th century—as has the control of bodies through patriarchal, reductionists and dichotomic systems.

2.6. Conclusions: Nos Faltan 30,000

The stigmatization of left-wing modes of thinking during the geopolitical tensions of the Cold War affected a wide spectrum of citizens, and generated psychological damage in subjectivities that envisioned different projects for their communities than those imposed by the military junta. The disenfranchisement of certain ideologies created an atmosphere of distrust and hostility in society. However, the ideological representation in the official discourse is only one component in this context of power. The invisible strands of inequality also rely on fundamental state structures that use legal repressive apparatus and determine cultural, disciplinary and interpersonal power relations (Hill Collins and Bilge). This was clear from the final months of Juan Domingo Perón's administration, and later, when María Estela Martínez served as president and far-right paramilitary organizations, such as the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (also known as Triple A), and secret police created a climate of fear which intensified exponentially during the military junta.

As the Argentine community in exile revealed, death squads targeted a wide range of opponents, not just members of the Communist Party, left-wing Peronists, and combatants from the leftist Montoneros movement, but also artists, journalists, academics, intellectuals with no political affiliation, and even athletes. As Silvina Jensen notes, the greatest flow of exiles occurred during the Dirty War—the period of US-backed state terrorism in Argentina—but it had been happening on a smaller scale since Perón. "Las cifras más conservadoras hablan de aproximadamente un uno por ciento de la población residiendo fuera del país en 1983 y las estimaciones oscilan según se funden en fuentes censales argentinas o en registros de inmigración de los diferentes países de acogida, entre 300.000 y 500.000 personas" (19-20), states Jensen.

Even though the exact figure cannot be determined due to a lack of statistical data, the number that had the greatest impact in collective memory is the estimated two million exiles during that period (Jensen). "Éramos casi un millar en las bordas… y otro millar saldría en el próximo barco…y así en barcos sucesivos hasta llegar a los dos millones de adioses, por lo menos, según fuentes neutrales" (43), states the narrator at the beginning of Moyano's novel. The lives of the seven hundred travelers in the story are a symbolic example of how Argentina was losing a significant segment of its population, causing the vitality and diversity of civil and political rights to be destabilized and damaged. As the characters make clear in their stories, exile is only the tip of the iceberg. There is a long series of crimes linked to political repression, including political persecution, illegal detention and imprisonment, torture, sexual and gender-based violence, forced transfer, forced disappearance, and extrajudicial killing.

The analysis of this novel enables us to understand the complex web of violence sustained by repressive discourses, apparatuses and legal systems which nullify the tangible and intangible meanings of the body, its freedoms and possibilities. As can be seen in this chapter, the absence/presence oxymoron is closely linked to the duality of memory/violence, as it is in the work of Peri Rossi. However, the body/trauma duality acquires a much greater intensity in the testimony of these travelers than it does in the allegory of the Uruguayan shipwreck. I will explore this further in the next chapter, introducing other nuances of collective displacement. The stories of horror and cruelty told by these bodies on board the *Cristóforo Colombo* reveal the complexity of the subject of Southern Cone exile. Beneath the issue of forced travel there is an underlying relationship between exile and other serious issues such as structural violence, state terrorism, and the impact on the daily lives of thousands of people who would seem to be outside the political area under dispute. As

Hannah Arendt has remarked, the fact that the word 'refugee' has acquired a new meaning due to the Holocaust should force us to relocate the debate around the origins of the phenomena of human mobility, especially that which is related to forced displacement. These are phenomena that become more complex when they affect a much larger population than in previous centuries.

One of the responses to this debate is undoubtedly that of the body in aesthetic space navigating the discursive layers of biopower that control and determine it. A culture that seeks alternative means is combative and uncomfortable, but it is also a necessary part of our time. Culture is also a connection to the national past. Aesthetic representations of narratives and events that are persistently unremembered help articulate and fuel debates on the project of imagining a nation. Alternative cultural expressions that differ from the *simulacrum of inclusiveness* (Lowe) of national monuments, literary and artistic canons, and official history, preserve culture as a countersite of lost memories. As Walter Benjamin points out, "Nothing that has ever happened should be regarded as lost for history." If official archives demand we forget, then alternative voices, the written word, visual arts, plastic arts, music, performance, and activism all expose an unassimilable conflict in national memory and national culture. That is to say, they embody the fissures, absences, histories and deaths of victims of state terrorism. The sculpture of the young Pablo Míguez, like the seven hundred travelers in Moyano's novel, disrupt the myth of universal values and national identities. Cultural productions are a site of contestation of the body-human-citizen by the way in which aesthetic representation can question modes of managing citizenship, knowledge, beingness, memory or particularities of embodiment.

Groups of activists, artists and intellectuals from the Southern Cone region combined their collective efforts and engaged in advocacy for human rights—as part of a community

in exile or from within their home countries—from the 1970s-1990s. With a voice that was both diverse and powerful, they tried to influence international and national opinions in order to end the military juntas and later prosecute former dictators. Similarly, as I argue in this chapter, the connection that activism, art and literature have with academic criticism and theory is highly relevant insofar as they are interrelated. Therefore, an analysis of these issues should not separate them. The interdisciplinarity that defined the advocacy movements fighting for memory, truth and justice during the dictatorship and post-dictatorship periods should be taken into account by literary and arts critics when analyzing the complexity of aesthetic representations and discursive processes interwoven into the contemporary of human mobility.

The search does not cease, the wound does not heal. In Parque de la Memoria, the path is precisely designed as a giant open-wound on the lawn that goes towards Río de la Plata. From this standpoint, an analysis relating to political repression and the Southern Cone dictatorships is still valid while survivors, and the children or grandchildren of survivors, keep up their fight for memory, truth and justice.[58] To ensure that these abuses do not happen again, society has engaged in restoration of the social order through the junta trials. It has also been important to heal the serious wounds, which affected thousands of families, by conserving the secret detention centers as places of memory and human rights.

Memorial sites, such as Parque de la Memoria in Buenos Aires, and cultural centers that were once clandestine centers of detention and torture, are *loci* where subjectivity and citizenship find new alternative models for reimagining life: intimate life, public life, cultural life, life in freedom. These processes have a close relationship with the literary production that I am analyzing here. By pointing at the bronze representation of a

[58] Chiseled in stone, these three words welcome visitors to the old clandestine detention centers that today stand as memorials and symbols for the promotion and defense of human rights.

disappeared child, Pablo Míguez, I argue that naming the victims of state terrorism is one way to reimagine the Border of the body in an extensive and decolonized way. The Río de la Plata is both the silent witness of the "vuelos de la muerte," and the last material connection with the nation for some who went into exile. Wanton murder and freedom are synthetized in the liminality of the silver waters. The identity of a child reinstated in the collective memory and rematerialized through a bronze figure is looking at the emblematic Argentine river that opened the gates into exile for the characters of *Libro de Navíos y Borrascas*.

From the defenseless child depicted in the sculpture, to the adults with subversive ideologies forced to flee the country in Moyano's novel, state terrorism injured bodies and memory, as well as spaces of thought, beingness, and creativity. However, as can be seen in a variety of cultural productions, these migrant and *disappeared* bodies regain a place in the body politic of their nations. As Lisa Lowe clarifies, "This is not to argue that cultural struggle can ever be the exclusive site for practice; it is rather to argue that if the state suppresses dissent by governing subjects through rights, citizenship, and political representation, it is only through culture that we conceive and enact new subjects and practices in antagonism to the regulatory locus of the citizen-subject, by way of culture that we can question those modes of government" (22).

In the last chapter, I analyze different Borderlands as sites of unassailable conflict and unresolved contradictions of oppressive nationalistic discourses. So far, I have reviewed a variety of responses that the body engages in as a way of confronting political violence, particularly in situations of forced displacement. These mechanisms have nothing to do with armed struggle; they are ways of relocating the body in the stillness of the encounter with the other. Love and passion, childhood memories, family history, confession and empathy, the (sometimes painful) stimulus of aesthetic experience: writing, historical rewriting, music

and painting: all of these play a part. To bring this book to a close, I explore representations on canvas and other visual media as spaces of memory and denunciation. The body opens out on the canvas of Chilean artist José Balmes, recounting different journeys, topographies and material means of rescuing the body from absence and trauma.

3. Mapping Memory and Trauma: Exile in José Balmes's Artwork[59]

La memoria y el olvido son cuestiones permanentes.
Es como el positivo y negativo de la acción humana y la reflexión que el hombre hace de la vida y los acontecimientos.

José Balmes, interview in *Memoria Obstinada*

No one concerned with history and politics can remain unaware of the enormous role violence has always played in human affairs;
and it is at first glance rather surprising that violence has so seldom been singled out for special consideration

Hannah Arendt, *Violence*

The experience of exile is one of endlessly traversing memories. This does not just mean revisiting memories of the personal journey, it also involves revisiting a collective memory. Traveling back in time is finding a collection of past experiences, knowledge, events and facts. Memory is vital information stored for the individual, and it is of great importance in the present, nourishing our daily lives, giving us a connection to the self: an address, a date, a name, familiar faces, the home where we spent our childhood, an episode in our lives. Memories also represent the capacity to retrieve information from an open, if blurred, catalogue, waiting to be revisited. "El pasado no pasa," states Patricio Guzmán; the past is unsteady, active. With the passage of time we select fragments of past events to try to put together sequences and see the big picture. We certainly cannot remember everything, nor forget it entirely.

Traumatic experiences open wounds that require a retreat, a healing process; every scar tells a story. Revisiting the past when it has been violent is an exercise of memory to avoid omissions or indifference in the recounting of history, as Nelly Richard underlines (*Políticas*). Events such as the Nuremberg trials (1945-46, 1948) or the Pinochet case (1998)

untangled the trauma knots of contemporary history. These events make it possible to object, expand and generate new understandings of genocide, crimes against humanity, human rights, and humanity itself. Having those criminals at military tribunals—or under house arrest as in the case of Pinochet—opened up an opportunity to revisit traces of the erasure of history, and to unfold all the critical potentiality of the present narratives (Richard, *Políticas*).

Although, Pinochet was never imprisoned, his house arrest kindled a revision of memory in Chile. As Richard notes, Pinochet's case sheds light on a new stage in which memory displays its political enunciation, its social intervention and its mediatic performativity, "[el recuerdo histórico] sigue luchando para grabarse con potencia de acontecimiento: en los testimonios de las víctimas y en los tribunales de justicia pero, también, en las simbolizaciones intensivas del arte y de la literatura; en la defensa intelectual de una ética del pensar" (*Políticas* 10–11). This ethos is related to what Hannah Arendt called the "banality of evil" in her *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963). During the second half of the 20th century it became routine in Latin America to witness crimes and acts of destruction —often perpetrated by the state—committed without thought and without remorse for their crimes. This banality is a menace to our rights as humans and especially to our capacity to resist and refute forms of blind obedience "that uncritically supported a criminal legal code and fascist regime" (Butler, "Hannah" 282). In her reflections on the Eichmann trial (1961), Arendt pointed out that the destruction of specific groups[60] is an attack on humanity itself. In spite of the lessons of the Holocaust and the exercise of memory that it allowed, especially

[59] My sincere gratitude to Francisco González Vera for his generosity of time and enthusiasm to discuss about José Balmes artwork. Also to collector Carlos Cruz for the invaluable opportunity to see part of his Balmes-Barrios collection.

[60] To be precise, according to the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, this outrage comprises "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national,

during the period of the trials, outrageous horror and crime as a systematic methods of rule were prevalent during the Cold War. Even today's reality is one of repression, discourses of "civilization and progress" or "good versus evil," and restless flows of communities in displacement.

The legacy of fear and the normalization of the destruction of specific human groups under the Nazi regime was revived by military juntas in Chile and Argentina. Spanish attorney Carlos Castresana found out that under Pinochet and Videla, generals used the same Nazi tactics of enforced "disappearance" against those considered political enemies of the state (in interview with Guzmán, *Caso*). The precedent of the Charter for the Nuremberg Tribunal was an important element for the Spanish Courts when in 1996 the judges determined that Pinochet was subject to universal prosecution for his crimes of genocide, terrorism and torture.[61]

In "We the Refugees" (1943), Arendt underlined the indolence of the new times: "hell is no longer a religious belief or a fantasy, but something as real as houses and stones and trees. Apparently nobody wants to know that contemporary history has created a new kind of human beings—the kind that are put in concentration camps by their foes and in internment camps by their friends" (265). Revisiting the collective past when it has witnessed the collapse of all social boundaries, and the extreme deprivation of everyday life, is to revisit the flaws that make possible a debate on the politics of memory (Richard). From

ethnical, racial or religious group" (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Convention*). Spanish law also recognizes the attempt to destroy *political* groups (Human Rights Watch).

[61] The judges unanimously agreed to open the case. Over the course of two years, victims testified in the Spanish National Court. For the first time in 25 years, a court opened its doors to the victims, even though the crimes occurred across borders and over the ocean. As Guzmán writes in *The Pinochet Case* (2001), when Baltasar Garzón and Manuel García Castellón accepted the case, no one thought the hearings and the judgement would lead to anything. But, in 1998, Baltasar Garzón surprised the world by making the historical resolution of asking for Pinochet's detention and extradition from England where the former dictator and senator-for-life was in a private London clinic recovering from surgery. The case set an immediate precedent for further transnational prosecutions of torturers in Chad and Paraguay (Human Rights Watch).

that position, it becomes possible to dissent and to respond to the symbols that used to be static, and even to disarm the indulgence of the transitional governments.

In this context, artists and writers who supported the struggle for human rights, anti-dictatorship, and justice while they were in exile believed in a world of civic engagement and political deliberation. As the theorist and visual artist Francisco González Vera describes it, "un mundo que se desenvuelve entre las utopías y las puestas en valor y en escena de los discursos visionarios como (el) de Salvador Allende, la visión marxista de la realidad, la forma de construir la sociedad que se desea[62]" (64). Their activism also played a role in the trials of the Juntas (of both Pinochet and Videla). Human Rights Watch also illustrate this point when they state that "perhaps the presence of a large community of exiles from the country of the crimes will help create a political climate in the prosecuting state permitting a case to go forward," especially in the transnational prosecution ("The Pinochet Precedent"). I am interested in analyzing this artistic output as a powerful cultural production that circulates in the collective imaginary, enabling a rearticulation of social and political life after it has collapsed (Arendt).

A debate on these topics will remain active and continue to evolve as long as the revision of collective memory is a concern for the descendants of survivors. Today, more than 80 years after the flow of Spanish exiles, the word "refugee" is still on the front cover of newspapers. 2015 was declared the year of Europe's refugee crisis—when hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers crossed the Mediterranean Sea fleeing from war. From 2014-2019, the political crisis and violence in Venezuela caused over 3 million people to leave the country and seek international protection.

[62] "a world that unfolds between utopias and the staging of visionary discourses such as those of Salvador Allende, the Marxist vision of reality, the way to build the society you desire

This analysis of the artwork of José Balmes Parramón (Montesquíu, Spain, 1927 – Santiago de Chile, 2016) takes into consideration the ideological polarization that occurred during the years of Unidad Popular, as well as the diversification of the left and the resistance during Pinochet's dictatorship, as contrasted by Richard (*Márgenes*). My interest is in the historical context and ideological situation revealed in his work. The years 1936-1939 and 1973 marked a watershed for regimes of violence and political persecution in the Hispanic world. Balmes' paintings span a remarkable historical period: from the flight of the Spanish refugees in 1939 to the Chilean coup in 1973 and the years of the dictatorship that followed. The Spanish Civil War was the grim harbinger of World War II, just as the military overthrow of Allende in 1973 and the subsequent dictatorship symbolized the collapse of the Chilean ideological repertoire. Richard describes it as the rupture of basic social networks, solidarities and mutual understanding, quashed by the spread of violence and the terror of the dictatorship years, "(el) quiebre de todo el sistema de referencias sociales y culturales que, hasta 1973, garantizaba ciertas claves de entendimiento colectivo" (*Márgenes* 16).

The Cuban Revolution and the Unidad Popular in Chile were transnational events that shaped ideologies beyond the borders of those respective nations; both also represent decisive moments in recent Latin American thought. Similarly, the radicalization and intolerance of the Cuban government in the 1970s, and the air attacks on La Moneda Palace of September 11, 1973, put great pressure on the geopolitical situation and defined a system of cultural and social references on the continent. This would include, to a certain degree, the US, because of that country's open and obvious interests and interventions in the continent. Balmes' aesthetic representation of the crimes of the military junta showed his commitment to campaigning for human rights.

The drive to propel human rights onto the Chilean national stage came hand in hand with the revision of collective memory. My intention in this chapter is to analyze how the mechanisms of state terrorism reverberate in the prevailing Western understanding of the body. Likewise, I examine non-binary perspectives on the body that disarticulate the discourses and devices that settle such violence into the collective imaginary. As I analyzed in the case of Argentina, the unflagging effort to locate the "imprisoned/abducted-disappeared" shows that their absences are actually a *presence* for their loved ones. Thus, the human body—limited by its physical, flesh-and-bone presence—is a symbolic, expanding network that is interrelated with other subjects, beings and spaces. All the components in the life of a person, that is to say, *a body*, conform its constitution and are constituted by it. Body-human-citizen are not disassociated concepts, especially in terms of civil, human and political rights.

As I discussed in the previous chapter on Moyano's novel, the painter Contardi displays a profound awareness of bodily learning. Bridging his lucid assessment on the circumstances related to forced disappearance and his bodily perception, now I introduce the analysis of another visual artist (a non-fictional one, this time) in order to expand the possibilities of literary criticism in relation to exile in the Southern Cone. By presenting a different archive, the canvas, my work deliberately highlights the mobilization of interdisciplinary discourses for the unpacking of complex topics such as forced displacement and political violence in the Americas. Exile is a turning point, both in thinking about national identity and in local cultural productions. Given the massive migration produced by dictatorships during the second part of the 20th century, the creative and artistic responses were also wide and covered multiple artistic expressions. Writers are only one part of this powerful flow.

As Peter Burke's analysis *Exiles and Expatriates in the History of Knowledge 1500-2000* illustrates, exiles from diverse disciplines have contributed to the generation and dissemination of knowledge—artists, scholars and scientists, as well as writers. For the purpose of this study, turning the scope to visual arts makes it possible to imagine the body through the representation of its form, inner life, social life and symbolic inscriptions. Expanding our affective registers of critique on the body and its aesthetic representations allows us to relocate new epistemic forms that come with embodiment. Significant shifts in the national history of a country, such as warfare, also frequently mean a shift in the production of knowledge, understandings of beingness and cultural temporality. In Balmes' work, the hand and the charcoal relocate the subject in an alternative repertoire of narratives. The former expands the material trace of the latter, in both handwriting and drawing, revisiting sites of struggle. The oxymoronic absence/presence of the body—generated by the repression of military regimes—resists representation but finds a place of memory on the canvas, as I explore in this chapter.

Like Peri Rossi and Moyano, Balmes' aesthetics exhibit his particular and unique process as an exile through his ingenious expression and keen perception. As for the fictional character Contardi, everyday objects hold the potential to inspire creations that represent a life of scarcity. As realist painter Gustave Courbet once said, "The world comes to be painted at my studio." For Balmes, the world is also raw material that bears witness to the truth and displays the pressing need of an urgent testimony. His unique way of inhabiting the liminality of exile and looking at his own experiences of forced migration figure in his artistic output. Balmes portrays his own personal narration of events, using as many materials as his memory claims. His works in which political repression and exile form the main topic—and his output related to social criticism in general—exhibit a special

documentary quality. He integrates into the canvas-documentary newspaper clippings or book pages, press photographs, leaflets from protests, and other objects from daily life. González Vera designated Balmes' work as *obra urgente*, because of the pressing need to report and register the events with haste. The urgency of providing complex testimony demanded a variety of media that was associated with immediacy, such as news media and photojournalism.

3.1. Living in Double Exile

In 1970, Salvador Allende (1908-1973) ran for the presidency for the fourth time. Many artists and writers supported his socialist project, including Pablo Neruda, Luz Donoso, Roberto Matta, Pedro Millar, Hernán Meschi, and the young couple Gracia Barrios and José Balmes. Balmes was chair of the School of Fine Arts (1966-72) and later Dean of the Department of Fines Arts (1972-73). He was collaborating in Operación Verdad, the initiative that later led to the Museo de la Solidaridad. Unlike Peri Rossi or Moyano, Balmes was directly involved with the government that fell victim to the military takeover. The painter and his family were forced to leave Chile after the coup in 1973. September 11, 1973 is a watershed moment in the history of Latin America. Balmes' great skills for visual representation take an important role in his understanding of the events that occurred that Tuesday.

More specifically, I am interested in analyzing the representations of political repression closely linked to forced displacement flows, and how this form of political repression affects the social fabric. The main focus is a comparative look at the intersections between Balmes' paintings of his first boat trip fleeing from the war (*Llegada a Valparaíso*, 1991; *El Luche*, 1994; *Nosotros Tantos* o *El Doble Exilio*, 2011; *Dos Exilios*, 2012) and the representations of the memory of September 11 (*September 73*, 1977; *Las Fechas*, 1980;

Cuerpos, 1980; *Calama*, 1995). A comparative look at his double experience of migratory flows is important since these have an effect on his paintings, and both experiences are fundamental to his representations of collective memory and testimony. His work promotes a reflection on two national cases of serious political repression that not only affected hundreds of thousands of people by turning them into refugees, but also represented a grave affront to the basic freedoms to which all humans are entitled. Balmes' canvas is a space for public condemnation of a humanitarian crisis and an open declaration of an anti-dictatorial position. Nonetheless, he also clarifies the limits of this struggle, "No se hace una revolución con la pintura. No se hace tampoco con la música ni con el teatro. Pero se puede ayudar a hacerla" (*Historia*). As Lisa Lowe also thought-provokingly argues, "culture is the material site of struggle in which active links are made between signifying practices and social structure" (22). This is shown by different characters in the book. The voice of the traveler in Peri Rossi searches, through the poetic word, for a place of love in the public space, a place where political commitment is demonstrated. In Moyano, the puppeteer Paredes stages an improvised performance, the *improvisation* of national history. Moreover, the group of friends in the novel also try to reestablish an affective register to find the *desaparecidos*, when writing a short story about a lighthouse. However, the poetic lover is shipwrecked, the puppets/historical characters fall from grace, and the *light* turns off. Despair has been a constant result when attempting to face structural violence—including exile as a form of disenfranchisement—as an unfixed structure. It is not an easy struggle when "legal institutions function as flexible apparatuses of state repression and stigmatization in response to the material conditions of different historical moments" (Lowe 26). The legal system mirrors social relations.

3.2. 1939, Winnipeg

Esa escena no se me va a olvidar nunca:
guardias franceses preguntando ¿campo de concentración o Franco? Había grandes
letreros, para que supieras de antemano
que no ibas a ser recibido como exiliado o algo así.

José Balmes, 1989

Nos otorgaron en nombre de Chile papeles con timbres y fotos
que nos convirtieron nuevamente en ciudadanos.

José Balmes, en carta a sus padres, 1989

José Balmes started painting when he was a child. He has a vivid memory of his parents talking about his artistic sensibility: "Tú estás perdiendo el tiempo con tanto profesor; aquí (en la pastelería) todos los días se me desaparece una enorme cantidad de papel, y no es que Josep esté envolviendo pasteles. Está dibujando. Pintando con lápices de colores," said his mother, "¡Ah!, entonces va a ser pintor," his father accepted, after trying with violin and piano teachers (in Badal, 32). Balmes' first artistic themes were the natural light and landscapes of his hometown; he started with watercolor but soon became familiar with oil painting. However, all this was to change very quickly with the turbulent events of the 1930s in Spain.

His father, Damián Balmes, was a member of the party Izquierda Republicana de Cataluña and a mayor in Montesquíu: "Los catalanes defendían la república porque era la única posibilidad que tenían de mostrar que ellos, a través de un proceso democrático, deseaban la autonomía...Mi padre era muy activo en todo esto, siempre iba de un lugar a otro…mi padre era ya alcalde del pueblo" (in Badal, 29). The historical process of the Second Spanish Republic would change rapidly when a military takeover instigated the Spanish Civil War in July of 1936. This uprising of right-wing groups—with support from the fascist powers of Germany and Italy—would lead to a Nationalist military dictatorship headed by General Francisco Franco. During the three years of war, left-leaning opponents

and those sympathetic to the democratic process of the Republic suffered persecution, executions, incarceration, and bombing, causing hundreds of thousands to flee to France, Morocco, Tunisia and Russia. They also sought asylum in the Americas, mainly in Mexico, Chile, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. As historian Dolores Pla Brugat described, some would re-emigrate to other countries such as Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia.

The detrimental context due to the war, the food shortage, the political climate, and the general social turmoil had an immediate impact on Balmes' sensibility:

> Es difícil de creer cómo influyen los acontecimientos de la guerra en todo este proceso. Yo sigo pintando paisajes, pero viene *toda la información*, que para mí son las imágenes de *la prensa*. Recuerdo que a partir de *las fotos* de los diarios hago dibujos de casi todos los líderes del mundo…empiezo a trabajar con las fotos… Hay un cambio, y yo paso de lo bucólico a una realidad muy violenta; a los combates en los frentes, en la tierra y el aire. Siempre he dicho que a partir de ese momento mi pintura estuvo relacionada con la historia. (in Badal 35) (emphases added)

Together with his sense of historical processes, Balmes' critical understanding of the value of journalism and freedom of information at an early age is fundamental to his later work. As previously mentioned, newspaper cuttings and photojournalism are recurring elements in his artworks that include social criticism. He developed this technique of using mixed media and collages on canvas or wood during the 1960s (*Hoy*, 1964; *Realidad 10*, 1964; *Acontece*, 1965; *Santo Domingo, Mayo del 65*, 1965; *Testimonio*, 1966; *Homenaje a Lumumba*, 1967). In contrast to the Pop Art collages from the 1960s that often address American consumerism, Balmes used the form as a site of political intervention and

historical revision. In an interview for the documentary *El Doble Exilio de la Pintura*, Justo Pastor Mellado outlines Balmes' developed sense of history in his painting:

> Si no hubiese tenido el sentido histórico tan comprimido, no hubiese realizado la serie Santo Domingo, Mayo de 65. Esta serie marca la contemporaneidad pictórica chilena. Es una respuesta pictórico-política a un acontecimiento…es un momento clave en la historia de la pintura chilena...cosas así no se producen a menudo. (min 17)

This series about the incursion of the US army into the Dominican Republic is a paradigm in Chilean painting, and it is also the starting point for Balmes' embracing of social protest art. Gracia Barrios comments on this watershed moment: "La pintura (de Balmes) va haciéndose más abierta, más dinámica, y a manera ya de un reportaje ágil y expresivo, empiezan a reaparecer grandes signos representando escuetas figuras humanas. Es la serie de Santo Domingo" (in Badal, 77) (*Santo Domingo, May of 65*, 1965, acrylic and collage on canvas 160 x 150 cm). The pressing needs of marginalized voices appearing in printed media are updated with other graphic materials by the artist. In this way, the brief life of the news cycle acquires a relevant and prolongated existence, the printed resource is an archive re-signified by another archive—the materiality of the canvas or the wood.

3.3. Cartographies of the Refugee's Journey

Aún los veo de blanco y con sombrero,
Pablo Neruda y Delia del Carril. Era el verano del 39.
Recibían una avalancha de hombres, mujeres y niños
que venían de diversos puntos de Francia.
Éramos los refugiados de la guerra civil de España.

José Balmes in a letter to his parents
40 years after they boarded the *Winnipeg*. Pauillac, August, 1989

When Balmes was only 12 years old, he and his mother and other friends left their home town to seek safety near the French border. They were fleeing from the Spanish Civil

War as Francisco Franco's military units were advancing across Catalonia. However, when Barcelona was occupied, they gave up hope of returning to Montesquíu. They crossed the Pyrenees and walked towards France. It was a cold January in 1939. The artist recalls these moments in an interview in 1994:

> Nosotros partimos con el diputado Lluis Bru y su familia en la noche, más bien en la madrugada del 26 de enero de 1939; éramos unos 15 o 20 amontonados en un camión, tapados con mantas.…A la mañana siguiente partimos, empezamos a caminar. Recuerdo muy bien que hacía mucho que no lloraba, pero esa vez lloré de frío. Los Pirineos estaban muy helados, la nieve te llegaba a la rodilla. (in Badal 27)

Almost half a million people left Spain a few months before the end of the Civil War, mainly across the French and North African borders, fleeing open violence and mass reprisals. Balmes' father stayed behind, fighting on the front. That April he was reunited with his wife and son in France and they boarded the *Winnipeg* in August 1939 in the company of about 2,200 refugees (Pla Brugat).

The outbreak of World War II made the precarious situation of the Spanish refugees even worse. However, despite the tragedy, there was also hope and openhandedness. Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas showed his support and generosity to the Spanish Republic. His administration received thousands of refugees from 1937 and relaxed the country's immigration policies when the international conflict broke out in September 1939 (Pla Brugat). Chilean president Pedro Aguirre Cerda also sympathized with left-wing republicans and offered protection to political refugees. At that time, Pablo Neruda was the Chilean consul in Paris and he actively worked to helped people displaced by the Spanish

Civil War. His main concern was to aid those who were in wretched conditions in concentration camps:

> Ante mi vista, bajo mi dirección, el navío debía llenarse con dos mil hombres y mujeres. Venían de campos de concentración, de inhóspitas regiones, del desierto, del África. Venían de la angustia, de la derrota, y este barco debía llenarse con ellos para traerlos a las costas de Chile, a mi propio mundo que los acogía. Eran los combatientes españoles que cruzaron la frontera de Francia hacia un exilio que dura más de 30 años. (Neruda, "El Winnipeg y otros poemas 266-267)

Finally, the Balmes family boarded the *Winnipeg*, giving them an opportunity to start over in the Austral Hemisphere. The steamer set sail on August 4, 1939.[63] It was a cargo ship purchased by the Servicio de Evacuación de Republicanos Españoles (SERE) with help from the French communist party and the poet Neruda.

Balmes never forgot that journey: "Del viaje tengo impresiones imborrables; sería capaz de reconstruir la escenografía de la entrada al edificio de la gobernación marítima, en Pauillac, con Neruda y la 'Hormiguita', Delia del Carril, muy de blanco y con sombrero, realizando la inscripción de la gente. Él insistía en que hubiese de las más diversas profesiones" (in Badal, 39). He returned to his hometown fifteen years after this boat trip, in 1954, with a Chilean passport, on a trip with Gracia Barrios. The couple were already on the

[63] President Cárdenas and President Aguirre Cerda restricted asylum to refugees from the primary and secondary sectors of the economy. Spanish exile was mostly composed of a well-educated elite. According to Pla Brugat, only 1.4% of the refugees were illiterate. This was not representative of Spanish society where, in 1930, only 32% was literate (Kornbluh). Other artists—or future artists—and intellectuals who traveled to Chile on the *Winnipeg* include Mauricio Amster (typographer and graphic artist), Antonio Aparicio (poet and journalist), Roser Bru (painter), Leopoldo Castedo (historian), Isidro Corbinos (journalist), Pablo de la Fuente (novelist), Eleazar Huerta (lawyer and poet), José Ferrater Mora (philosopher), Domenec Guanse (writer), Monserrat Julió (actress), Arturo Lorenzo (painter), Albor Maruenda (guitarist), Diana Pey (pianist), Antonio Rodríguez Romera (art critic and caricature artist), Vicente Salas Viu (musicologist and music critic), Arturo Serrano Plaja (writer and literary critic), Arturo Soria (editor) and his brother Carmelo (diplomat) (Castedo; Sapag)

faculty of the School of Fine Arts at the University of Chile and were traveling on a fellowship. That two-year research trip was very important for these young artists, as Pastor Mellado describes: "[el viaje forjó] en ellos una especial mirada sobre la pintura anónima popular y la tradición giottiana, que les será de vital importancia para la constitución posterior de las imágenes y gestos propios con que se caracterizarían como los artistas más prometedores de su generación" (Mellado, *Papel*, 84).

Revisiting memory from multiple perspectives generates new ideas of who we are in the present. While living out his second exile in Paris in the 1970s and 1980s, Balmes revisited his mutable memories and searched for responses to the historic moments he experienced as a child refugee. In an interview with filmmaker Patricio Guzmán (*La Memoria Obstinada*, 1997), Balmes states: "La memoria es algo fantástico. Yo creo que es aquello que nos hace morir de alguna manera, sufrir mucho, pero nos hace vivir también." The steamer *Winnipeg* finds its way onto the canvas in pieces of memory: "Recuerdo cuando empezaron a soltarse las amarras del barco; los nervios, la extraña sensación de iniciar un viaje en que uno no sabe [adónde] va" (Balmes in Badal, 1994). After a month on the open sea, the Balmes family landed at the seaport in Valparaiso, Chile.

In 1973, after the coup d'état led by Augusto Pinochet, the painter would face another migration flow. Fleeing twice to France to save his life connected his artistic sensibility with a historical consciousness and political commitment (Mellado *Obra*). The years 1939 and 1973 become intertwined, generating a confusing system of solidarity and abandonment.

The rapidly changing scenes of his daily life as a child had an impact on his thematic representation of space. The bucolic landscapes of Montesquíu in the 1930s became vivid locations of political repression in his artwork as an adult. Forced displacement, extra-

judicial execution, forced disappearances, or the coup d'état are recurrent topics on his canvas. Going back to his hometown and to the port of Pauillac decades later left another mark in Balmes' geographical understanding of his voyage as a child refugee. His reflections would come to be depicted as topographies of his journey as a refugee in various artworks. One of these is the triptych *El Luche* (*The Hopscotch*, 1994, triptych, mixed media on canvas, 300 x 260 cm). This important work is a collage, inspired by his first migration, which Balmes created for his first individual exhibition at the National Museum of Fine Arts of Chile after the dictatorship had ended (Mellado, *Papel*). Art, biography and history constantly overlap in his work.

The court of the children's playground game is sketched out free-hand with charcoal on a light background. Charcoal is one of the oldest known drawing materials, "used for sketching…in mural compositions by the Greeks and Romans and during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance" (Clarke, *Charcoal*). Balmes frequently uses charcoal, manipulating the composition with his hand, smudging it gently to enrich the texture of the light canvas. By smearing the lines in this work, he is simulating the pavement and possibly also acknowledging blurred zones where memories are reinvented and relocated. The contrast of light and shadow on Balmes' canvas has an interesting visual power with which the artist proposes a revision of the political space of countries at war. A noted feature of this *luche* is the superposition of the geographical route that the artist followed during his journey as a child. The hopscotch court ends on the number 7 with references to his life in Chile, the turbulent 1970s, and his current life as painter. *El Luche* is the mapping of his memory as refugee. As Francisco González Vera observes in *José Balmes. Obra Urgente*, the artist confronts the viewer with the verticality of the court. Balmes' deep and wide understanding

of the circumstances is displayed through a visual narrative, like a pictorial diary that resumes his embodied experiences of being in displacement.

The viewer's attention is pulled at first to a photographic section at the top right of the canvas. There is also important visual weight given to a pair of shoes in the bottom right corner. The viewer's eyes will then probably follow the course of the popular playground game that is sketched on the canvas, proceeding through the handwritten numbers, from 1 to 7. The *reader* soon understands that to gain a better appreciation of the multiple significances of the map they should read the textual directions, from top to bottom and from left to right. This is an invitation to *read* the canvas as a map, as an archive, as a repository of a memorable journey.

As occurs in Peri Rossi and Moyano, the old traditions of travel literature and cartography find new significance in response to the specific experience of exile. A close viewing of the triptych in a Z-pattern enables us to gather embedded clues to the multiple possibilities of reading this painting as an important document of displaced bodies, and therefore as a testimony of the uprooting of a community. The arrangement of the graphic elements takes the viewer's eyes to the first section on the upper left, where the number 1 announces the first fragment of the court. The first step in this game of hopscotch begins where the calligraphy reads "*Barcelona*," over red and yellow brushstrokes, a clear reference to the city going up in flames.

Handwritten texts, toponyms and dates all contribute to Balmes' narrative in this map. The handwritten elements refer to the subject: a remnant of, and a testimony to, his personal experience. They are not merely visual content, but signs. The careful reader must use a variety of decodifications to complete the representation of the journey. This strategy of composition is the performance of such representation; that is to say, the technique of

mixed canvas displays its own process and disarticulates the visual and textual codes. The charcoal unveils the drawing; the handwriting refers to a subject who is, simultaneously, a child, a refugee and the artist; the historical photograph connects with a community in transit. As in Moyano's novel, where the narrator and multiple registers deploy different metanarrative texts, through characters who express themselves in metanarrative terms, Balmes unfolds the problem of representation masterly, unveiling the sign while contesting political oppression. Galaz states: "De aquí la importancia de la presencia física del carbón, de la tierra y de los otros materiales, como la función erótica del gesto diferido, donde éstos actúan por el cuerpo de Balmes, negando la representación" (in *En Tierra*, "Mano-Carbón" np). The open process is apparent in the drawing on the canvas, and the presence of the body—the hand—is deeply embedded in the use of charcoal. As Galaz explains, "Dibuja como pinta, directo, sin boceto previo; la inmediatez de la reflexión y la emoción sin separarse. La relación entre arte y vida se da mediante opciones precisas… La línea (del dibujo) se plantea como una acción corporal, como el resultado de un cuerpo con un carbón, que sobre tela o papel, cual sismógrafo, registra las pulsiones de un ojo que verifica y corrige o guía el trazo." Hand and charcoal mapping memory and trauma, or "mano-carbón," as Galaz describes it. In this way, the hand-body and memory-collectivity guide the viewer, outlining the path through the court.

By including places names, Balmes positions the canvas from the perspective of the refugee. The toponyms are not used casually at all, they are powerful reminders of the path of devastation and horrific unreason to come with Franco's dictatorship and the Holocaust. In contrast to *Guernica* (1937), in which Pablo Picasso depicts the explicit violence of a wanton attack on civilians, Balmes' representation, 45 years after the event, has the great virtue of arranging in detail the spatial and temporary nature of the journey of a community

fleeing in haste. The extreme insecurity of the journey is rendered in the austerity of the piece and in the palette of predominantly light and dark colors. It is the drawing of a child in a rush, the child who cannot stay and play, who must leave childhood behind. The hopscotch court forms a bridge between the powerful recollection of a painful journey and the artistry of an adult painter adjusting his memories in the squares.

The thick charcoal line of the court serves as the vague Borderland of his memories and the geographical frontier between Spain and France. After Barcelona, black arrows lead to the right, to the next destinations: his hometown "*Montesquíu*," "*Ripoll*" and then "*Bellver*," where he, his mom and the Bru family gained refuge for a few days. Once Barcelona was taken, they decided to leave that night for France. That stretch was the hardest; an hour walking through the Pyrenees before crossing the Bourg-Madame Bridge, which in the triptych is like a border, dividing squares 2 and 4. The handwriting changes to print letters when the cartography enters French territory. The travelers continued towards the town of Puigcerdá to seek shelter in Font Romeu. After a couple of days, as the painting shows, the next stops were "*Prades*," and then "*Montpellier*," where there was better organization of the refugees going into exile and more chance of finding asylum to re-emigrate. Finally, in August, they boarded the steamer at the port of "*Pauillac*."

Connecting the first part of the trip, over squares 1 to 4, the collage incorporates photocopied pages of the book *Los Españoles del Winnipeg: El Barco de la Esperanza* (1989), by historian Jaime Ferrer Mir, which includes several testimonies from Spanish refugees in Chile. It also includes an interview with Balmes, in which he details the itinerary of his journey. Ferrer's pages invite the viewer to *read* the map as an archive, following the vertical visual hierarchy. On the left, page 26 displays the self in an autobiographical text: "*Yo* estaba con mi madre en el pueblito fronterizo de Bellver…" (emphases added); it is the

account that Balmes shared with Ferrer. On the right side, a ripped page 17 presents the collectivity in displacement with a historical photograph that stands out: “Cargando cuanto podían, familias completas abandonaban sus casas y se dirigían a la frontera en busca de seguridad,” indicates Ferrer in a note. The verbs in plural make an important statement, the child—i.e. the self—belongs to that collective history. By including both the individual and the collective voices, the triptych intertwines the audience with the testimonial and the memory enclosed inside the hopscotch court. Through autobiographical content, the canvas stands in solidarity with the community affected by this forced displacement. A photograph emphasizes the authenticity of the memories. It serves as an archive, intensifying the recollection of January 1939 and testifying to the historical moment of the refugees’ journey.

Some years of the decade 1930s follow the route guiding the viewer. The numbers 38 and 39 appear a couple of times in black handwriting. The 39 is repeated in red and in different calligraphy, heightening the memory of the events: the fateful year 1939 of aggressive expansion, of Fascist invasions and the beginning of the most destructive conflict in human history. At the center of the court, the gaze finds a big, light section with smudged charcoal, and then shoots down to the opposite corner at a diagonal, following the Z-pattern across the lower part of the triptych. This last section displays the final stops of the journey and some more emblematic dates. The *Winnipeg* arrived at the port of “*Valparaíso*” and finally the Balmes family traveled by train to “*Stgo*” (Santiago de Chile), as the work shows with toponyms in script.

The viewer/reader follows the route not just through space, but also through time, with the evolution of the events that occurred between 1939 and 1973. As becomes clear at this final stage of the map, the number 68 stands out, being the explosive year of major

strikes, student protests and civil disobedience. Right below there is a blurred 69 and some number 7s piled up, simulating the disorganized and challenging 1970s. Again, a number in red announces violence and tragedy, the number "*3*," of the year 1973, divides the decade between the dream of democracy during Allende's administration and the coup. Uncertainty for the painter due to his new banishment, and Chile's fall to dictatorship, define the end of the trip.

Balmes uses diverse symbolic elements that dialogue with the collective memory. His use of dates reaffirms the truthfulness of the events he narrates, both as a personal recollection and as an account of a displaced community. *El Luche* claims a political site of struggle and memory to honor the journeys of the half-a-million people who fled the Spanish Nationalist army in 1939, and the 200,000 Chileans who left their country after the coup of 1973. The dates *39* and *73* are indelible in Balmes' personal life, but he recognizes himself as a historical subject and his experiences as part of a collective tragedy. His artistic proposal contributes to the generation of memory of these catastrophic events. Depicting migratory flows of refugees of war makes it possible to rethink borders and open up a space of accountability on how immigrants-bodies-humans-citizens live when traversing the liminality of international spaces in the midst of warfare and political crisis.

At the end of this game of *luche* there is a pair of shoes. These are not children's shoes, fresh from a game of hopscotch, however. They are the shoes of an adult painter looking back at his past, and at the collective past. Used and stained shoes: a sign of exile, of footprints left behind. The work is anchored to the past and places some signs of that past in the present. The footwear is also a metonymy for a thoughtful traveler who has been forced to cross the Atlantic twice. According to art critic Francisco González Vera, those are actually Balmes' work shoes and they appear in other paintings by him, such as *Del Andar*

(1994). As González Vera notes, "Zapatos que son la metonimia del exilio constante de la humanidad" (*José Balmes. Obra Urgente*, p. 45). In contrast to Rolando, in Moyano's novel, where the narrator finds a heaven in the perspective of a 10-year-old boy, in this *luche* the adult peering into his own childhood finds the vulnerability of the child refugee.

The autobiographical dimension is also explicit in another *luche*, homonymous painting of this series (in Spanish *El Luche*, 1994, mixed media on canvas, 130 x 220 cm) (Figure 3.3). The court here is smaller, with only squares 3 and 4 visible. The squares are again drawn by hand, this time in white over an earthy brown background, representing a hopscotch court chalked out over dirty ground. This work appeals to multiple views and readings, presenting interconnected texts. Here again the viewer is invited to read a fragment of the painter's testimony, published in Ferrer's book, accompanied by a photograph of himself with his mother. This reinforces the power of expression of the artwork as documentary. In another photocopied extract from Ferrer's book, Balmes is shown as a child refugee: "Mujeres y niños tuvieron prioridad en el ingreso a suelo galo. El muchacho de abrigo, que está de espaldas, es José Balmes, a la edad de 12 años. Foto de Keystone" (in Ferrer, 27).

Time is a unifying thread in Balmes' artworks about exile. According to González Vera, "el tiempo, [es] ejemplificado por la fotocopia de la fotografía histórica que alguien tomó en medio de la angustia de la huida. Será un elemento más que establece una manera de vincular, de emplazar el concepto que define a su obra en la totalidad de las series temáticas que ha pintado" (*El Papel*, 14). Documentary photography or photojournalism are recurrent materials in his various series of protest art pieces: *Santo Domingo, Mayo de 65*, 1965; *Homenaje a Lumumba* 1967; *Vietnam, 68*, 1968; *Retrato del Che Guevara*, 1968; *No a la Sedición*, 1971-1973; *José Ricardo Ahumada Vásquez*, 1973; *Cuerpos*, 1980; *Litoral*

Central, 1988; *Desechos*, 1989; *Calama*, 1990; *En Tierra*, 1989—where the artist reveals immediate events as a matter of urgency, as the press does.

Volatility is an unavoidable feature of the ancient and popular game of hopscotch. The outline of the court becomes scuffed by feet and erased each time it is played, and the children must scratched it out or draw it again. When passersby walk across the traces of a hopscotch court they are actually walking through the echoes of a group of playing children. Perhaps the little feet that once hopped there had been forced to leave childhood behind, persecuted by war. The game sketched out on the sidewalk, in the dirt, or in the yard is also the trace of a performance: a group of bodies improving their balance. Despite each hop and jump being repeatedly traced and retraced every day of the summer holidays, each game is a unique event in which the body expresses self-discipline in a different manner. Like the ephemeral life of the journalism that constantly reappears in Balmes output, the hopscotch court disappears every day but can reappear on different surfaces. Balmes' *luche*, drawn in the form of the children's game, appears on the surface of the canvas, just as it appears as a mark on his memory. It is what remains of a dynamic and ludic performance, and an incredible vital energy, immortalized like an archive. As art critic Gastón Galaz describes it, "se intenta conservar la fragilidad en el supuesto carácter perenne del arte" (in *En Tierra*, "Balmes: Dos Tierras" np).

The *El Luche* series represents a multilayered journey and contributes to another history about national discourses from different borders. Balmes enacts his own process of readjustments of life and ideas through his training as visual artist. Anzaldúa calls this process the Seven Stages of Conocimiento: el arrebato (the rupture), Nepantla, the Coatlicue state, el compromiso, putting Coyolxauhqui together, being inspired to grow and change, and the final stage of shifting realities. The autobiographical content of Balmes' series of

paintings sheds light on certain parts of this process. From the rupture with the material homeland at an early age, the body of the child crosses the liminality and uncertainty of Nepantla (the Nahuatl word for in-betweenness) as an international refugee; the child's body has been marked with entrenched state violence. The process continues when Balmes returns to Chile after his second banishment, the painter having now crossed multiple borders of identity, time and geography. In *El Luche,* his journeys across the Borderlands are depicted using a variety of symbols. Childhood has gone from this game of hopscotch. Balmes takes the ludic sketch from the playground and revitalizes his memory with a multiplicity of signs/layers/borders: time (the years), space (the toponyms), people (the photographs and testimonies), the self (his testimonial from Ferrer's pages) and traveler (the shoes).

Partly thanks to international generosity and solidarity, the Spanish Republican exile was one of the most organized collective migrations of the 20th century in the Hispanic world. Moreover, this great humanitarian and diplomatic feat happened before the existence of any international convention for the protection of human rights and during the most violent and hectic period of our modern history. The first specialized agency was the International Refugee Organization, created in 1946 by the newly established United Nations. As Dolores Pla Brugat has noted, the transatlantic journeys and asylum were made possible firstly thanks to the governmental bodies that the Republic immediately developed, such as the Servicio de Evacuación de Republicanos Españoles (SERE), and, slightly later, the Junta de Auxilio a los Republicanos Españoles (JARE); and secondly, due to the financial resources of these organizations. These factors were important, as Pla Brugat notes, because Latin American presidents accepted the refugees if they could pay for their own transportation and personal expenses for the first few months. A brochure containing general information about Chile was handed out to the refugees. It was titled: "Chile os acoge"

(Chile welcomes you). This soon became a famous phrase, opening up a land of hope and opportunity for the refugees. They landed in Chile almost one month later.

The *Winnipeg* arrived at Valparaíso on the night of September 3rd. Some of the exiles stayed there but the rest, including the Balmes family, continued by train to Santiago the next day. "Centenares de personas saludándonos con claveles y rosas a la vera del camino en las estaciones de Quillota, La Calera, Llai-Llai. Finalmente el arribo a la Estación Mapocho (en Santiago) con cantos y banderas. Llegaba a una tierra que también sería la mía para siempre," recalls the artist (in Badal, 39). Balmes returned to Pauillac 50 years later, in August 1989, and wrote to his parents: "Había sol de primavera ese día 4 de septiembre. *En tierra*, rostros y manos nos decían su amistad[,] nos daban su bienvenida…Tiempo después *esta tierra* sería también la mía para siempre" (in Badal 38; emphasis added). His memories were still very vivid when, in 1989, he began work on his *En Tierra* series, on the 50th anniversary of the steamer's arrival. Even though this series is earlier than *El Luche*, it represents the geographical continuation of the trip that the child refugee started when fleeing from Montesquíu.

The Spanish title of this other map is an allusion to 'landing' and 'ground'. *En Tierra* can be seen as an abbreviation of 'pisar en tierra firme'—'stepping on solid ground' in English. Extending this meaning, this title is a metonym for being in the homeland, or as Peter Burke calls it, the *hostland*. The traveler finally sets foot on rich new ground after years spent in a war-torn country, after being expelled and stateless, after months of uncertainty, and after voyaging across the ocean. The body claims protection from the Earth and reconnects with it, life restarts in that place of shelter: Chile. In *Llegada a Valparaíso* (*Arriving to Valparaíso*, 1991, mixed media on canvas, 150 x 165), the exile acquires a sense of the end of the wandering path. The steamer *Winnipeg* is a site of hope and freedom.

The blurred coastline offers hope of a place to settle down. A strong, expressive area of earthy colors depicts a lively and unpredictable landscape. González Vera describes this artwork as "la mirada de José Balmes niño (que) capta lo incommensurable de la línea costera y el ocre que retiene el sol del desierto más seco del mundo" (*Papel* 49). According to art critic Gastón Galaz, the series emphasizes two characteristics that are a main focus of Balmes' output in general: "primero, su relación profunda e inveterada con la existencia y condición humanas; segundo, el carácter determinante de la historia y el comportamiento del colectivo sobre la persona" (in "Balmes: Dos Tierras" np).

The skills that the artist developed as a young landscape painter are deployed in *Llegada a Valparaíso*, supplemented by the maturity of an adult traveler who has unearthed his origins twice already and witnessed the violent end of democratic dreams. However, rather than depicting a complex set of natural scenery, the traveler is focused on understanding the rich texture and extension of the land, the body of soil, the geographical territory. Galaz describes it like this: "Ese paisaje otro, esa desarticulación de la metodología paisajista en la que comparece el objeto o modelo de esa práctica: LA TIERRA" ("Balmes: Dos Tierras" np). As in *El Luche*, the ground is given a predominant presence on the canvas: "El inmigrante no mira hacia el horizonte, sino bajo sus pies, para no sufrir tropiezo" (Mellado in *En Tierra* np).

In all the artworks I have mentioned in this analysis, the artist makes very little use of the color spectrum or uses only primary colors. In *En Tierra*, the lack of blue to depict the area of the ocean provides fresh insights about Balmes' use of color as a choice rather than as a necessity. His choice of color palette is a way for him to focus attention on the concept of land and on the importance of the acts of mooring and settling down. Mellado points out that "Lo que hizo Balmes fue transformar en horizonte lo que tenía bajo los pies. Le dio

profundidad a la superficie" (in *En Tierra*). Only a small spot of blue beside the toponym "*Valparaíso*," signals the sea, but this is actually emphasizing the port, the place of destination. Other than that detail, the unknown territory that becomes his homeland is undoubtedly the center of the landscape. The artwork gives a deeper appreciation of the land and landing—so relevant in the *En Tierra* series—using dried soil (Galaz; González Vera). The artist gives dominance to "earth colors", letting the earth be the color, texture and center of the canvas. As Galaz underlines: "Sobre esta tierra que se pone como pintura, se adosan múltiples objetos, reeditando el concepto de montaje: la incorporación de fragmentos de realidad, de materiales que no han sido elaborados por el artista." The land is not necessarily representing itself, but the soil is a sign of reality. This game of representation is actually updating events for the viewer as the traveler revisits a vivid memory of the end of his journey.

As in *El Luche*, certain elements encourage the viewer to decode the canvas by following arrows, toponyms, numbers, and a photograph, but also going beyond what the canvas—as an archive—can describe or narrate. Following an L-pattern, the *reader* scans down the left side where two big charcoal arrows (upper left) highlight the North-South direction of the route of the liner. They suddenly stop when the gaze reaches an old photograph of the *Winnipeg* running aground. The land reaches out into the Pacific Ocean as if embracing the ship. The use of a photograph represents his memory of the journey and establishes the canvas as an authentic testimony of the historical event announced by the title: "Arriving to Valparaíso," or "arriving to the valley of paradise."

This map of exile is guided by the necessity of remembering, it is an exercise of memory. The black arrows could also represent the ship's previous stop in Antofagasta, a port city in northern Chile, as recounted by Lepoldo Castedo (in Badal). After reading

"*Valparaíso*," the eye is drawn to the lower right part of the artwork, where three more signs make the place and time of the scene even more specific. One is the date of arrival to their new home '39 / 4 Sept' (September 4, 1939), however the year is much larger and in red—as it is in *El Luche*—like the fire over La Moneda. There is a third red arrow guiding our eyes to the final destination, '*Stgo*.' (Santiago de Chile). The open space, the physical displacement—and more especially the arrival—are sites that the subject revisits in order to relocate himself in the collective memory, in contrast to the sense of uprooting deployed in *El Luche*. Putting down roots, being grounded in the *hostland*, is a process not only of self-awareness but also of political consciousness of the citizen as an agent of change in the political body of the nation. Citizenry is a motif of profound consideration in Balmes' works inspired by his insight on September 11, 1973, which I analyze in the last section of this chapter. His exercises of mapping memory are not just representations of natural landscapes, they are also representations of human and political sites of change and contingency.

Everyone's exile is different. Balmes endured many hardships during his childhood but, at the same time, he was surrounded by people with a strong political commitment which gave him a sense of active community engagement. In an interview with Gonzalo Badal, Balmes shared his view that arriving to Chile at a young age facilitated his acclimatization and made him a very flexible person. Aside from the factors mentioned above, Plat Brugat also posits that part of the success of the Republican exile in Mexico and Chile was thanks to the welcoming environment and sense of solidarity generated, not just at the governmental level, but also by the citizens who received the refugees by offering networks of support. This helped the young Balmes regain a sense of identity. Just one month after arriving, a neighbor took him to the School of Fine Arts where, after having his paintings viewed by the chair, Balmes was accepted as a non-registered student. He

remained at this institution for the following decades, first as a full-time student, then as a professor, chair and finally as dean until the coup d'état in 1973. In the documentary film about the artist, *El Doble Exilio de la Pintura* by director Pablo Trujillo Novoa, Balmes makes the following point: "Chile se portó muy bien con nosotros [...] pero aclaren qué Chile: el Chile de Pedro Aguirre Cerda y el Frente Popular, porque si gana Ros Santamaría (que era el de la derecha), yo no estaría conversando con usted acá" (min 13).

Many years after the coup, in 1996, Spanish attorney Carlos Castresana presented a complaint in the Spanish National Court against the dictator Augusto Pinochet. This was a gesture of international solidarity also connected to 1939. In an interview with Patricio Guzmán (*The Pinochet Case*, 2001), Castresana recalls when the Chilean president Aguirre Cerda sent his Minister of Health and Social Welfare to the port of Valparaíso to receive the Spanish republicans in an official reception. This young minister was the socialist doctor Salvador Allende, "¿Por qué hizo eso Chile? No había ninguna razón, no tenían por qué hacerlo, no tenían por qué acogerlos: por solidaridad," emphasizes Castresana (Guzmán, *Caso*). By strange coincidence, just as Allende was present at the beginning of Balmes' new life in Chile, Allende's death in 1973 would trigger a new wave of exile that would carry Balmes away from Chile, to seek refuge, once again, in France.

3.4. 1973, The Tragic Ritornello

Seguramente Radio Magallanes será callada y el metal tranquilo de
mi voz no llegará a ustedes. No importa.
La seguirán oyendo. Siempre estaré junto a ustedes.
Por lo menos mi recuerdo será el de un hombre digno
que fue leal [inaudible] [a la lealtad de] los trabajadores.

Salvador Allende, última transmisión
por Radio Magallanes el 11 de septiembre, 1973

Los archivos del poder siguen siendo secretos,
la arrogancia del vencedor continúa.
El 11 de septiembre de 1973 es siempre presente.
El pasado no pasa.

Patricio Guzmán, *Salvador Allende*

His first trip as refugee—family separation, leaving his hometown of Montesquíu, crossing the Pyrenees, receiving asylum in Chile—left an indelible mark on Balmes' memory and, as mentioned before, formed his sense of national historical process. He revisits the experience of the Spanish exile, through the medium of his own journey, by mapping history and places in *El Luche* and in *Llegada a Valparaíso* after returning from France. Between November 1973 and October 1982 he and his family were granted asylum in Paris. A few months later he received a much-prized invitation to teach at the University of Paris, so the family moved into the Fondation La Ruche-Seydoux, a celebrated residence located in Montparnasse.[64] Very soon, Barrios and Balmes were actively agitating against the dictatorship, alongside groups of left-wing artists made up of Europeans as well as Chilean exiles. However, it is worth noting that their political commitment to progressive causes had intersected with their aesthetic projects since they were students in the 1950s, first as part of the Grupo de Estudiantes Plásticos and, by the end of that decade, when they got together with Alberto Pérez and Eduardo Bonati to form Grupo Signo. Balmes recalls those years, "Yo me doy cuenta de que inevitablemente, y por una serie de motivos, la vida y el trabajo de uno se incorpora[n] a cauces que tienen que ver con los problemas y acontecimientos políticos y sociales que le tocan vivir" (in Badal 54, 56).

Grupo Signo transformed the Chilean art scene with new strategies of disintegrating the image, ushering in the end of traditional figurative painting by introducing influences from European Informalism or Art Informel (Clarke), especially Catalan artists, such as

Rafael Canogar, Modesto Cruixart, José Guinovart, and Luis Feito (Badal 100), who had an exhibition in Santiago in 1961. Alberto Pérez outlined Grupo Signo's anti-hierarchical and anti-conservative stance,

> La materia y su fluidez viva, el encuentro con los muros y las calles (recuerdo la mirada de Balmes, inquisitiva, en la grieta casual, en el fragmento de cartel desgarrado del muro) se compartía apasionadamente con la noticia internacional, con la fotografía, documento y estímulo del signo….Queríamos registrar la vida, producirla, multiplicarla. La palabra arte llegó a molestarnos, sobre todo en lo que en ella evocaba la magistratura formal. (Pérez in Badal 82)

The spontaneity and unexpected use of diverse materials—pictorial characteristics of Informalism—would become part of the evolution of Balmes' artistic language over the course of the decisive and prolific 1960s, a decade in which intellectual and artistic inquisitiveness was in constant debate with the social and political climate. The social commitment of the four friends was connected to their aesthetic sense and to their idea of dignifying art and the artistic endeavor. As Barrios states: "[Al] formar el Grupo Signo, tanto en Pérez, Bonati y Barrios como en José Balmes, se ha ido gestando un lenguaje plástico de signos que junto a colores, materias, líneas y collages, constituyen medio para expresar con ética: arte y vida o el arte de la vida (in Badal 78). Balmes' sensibility was closely tied to his perspective of the convulsive nature of the Cold War years—as revealed in his series of works about political events in Dominican Republic, Vietnam, Bolivia, Republic of the Congo, and, of course, on the streets of Chile.

[64] Designed by Gustave Eiffel for the Exposition Universelle of 1900, it housed a variety of artistic talent throughout 20th century.

González Vera uses the term 'artist-citizen' to describe how Barrios and Balmes integrated their artistic-political discourse. Barrios recalls a time when they were taking classes with Pablo Burchard: "[era una época] en la que no hacía distinción entre ser profesor y ser artista porque tuvimos el dramático privilegio de construir la imagen de un artista ciudadano por cuya consecuencia pagamos un alto costo. En esa historia la Universidad de Chile era la anticipación de Chile" (in González Vera *Papel*, 56-57). The university took an important role as an authority of higher education, encouraging a broader milieu for cultivating field-based learning and community-based projects. Balmes' increasing leadership among students and professors of fine arts forged the impetus for an artistic life of civic engagement.

In 1952, when Balmes was professor at the School of Fine Arts, he met Allende at the Parque Forestal, just in front of the school (González Vera *Papel*, 57). He participated in four federal campaigns until Allende, leader of the left-wing political alliance Unidad Popular, was finally elected president of Chile on September 4, 1970. This date also marked 31 years since the arrival of the Spanish Republican refugees. That night, to celebrate his victory, Allende gave a speech to thousands of workers from the balcony of the Federación de Estudiantes. The importance of this venue cannot be underestimated, as Francisco Brugnoli has noted: "Eso te habla a ti de la relación de la universidad, de los estudiantes con todo el ámbito politico" (in an interview with Trujillo Novoa). It was a time of intense renovation, not only in terms of artistic expression but also in the relationship between the university and Chilean society. "Nunca un candidato triunfante por la voluntad y el sacrificio del pueblo usó una tribuna que tuviera mayor trascendencia….La juventud de la patria fue vanguardia en esta gran batalla, que no fue la lucha de un hombre, sino la lucha de un pueblo; ella es la victoria de Chile, alcanzada limpiamente esta tarde," said the victorious

candidate the night of the election (Allende 53). Notoriously, during the years of the dictatorship the military junta had a keen interest in constraining the national university, "la U tenía 11 generales rectores delegados, por tanto no es nada de raro que cuando Balmes vuelve (en 1982), la [Universidad de] Chile, que era su lugar natural, era incapaz de acogerlo. No sólo era incapaz, tenía un programa de no acogerlo," as the artist Gonzalo Díaz calls to mind in 2011 (in an interview with Trujillo Novoa).

When he was campaigning, Allende created a diverse group of supporters that included workers, unions, intellectuals, artists, writers, performers, and the university community. Besides, he also counted on the approval of the general public. In the mid 1960s, owing to the presidential election season, a new political and cultural phenomena changed the face of the streets in Chile. Alejandra Sandoval Espino points out how the muralist brigades, and street art in general, were, in accordance with the revolutionary spirit of the time, fundamental for the Unidad Popular. The national programs El Pueblo Tiene Arte con Allende and Amanecer Venceremos[65]—during the campaign—together with Tren Popular de la Cultura, Operación Verdad, 40 Medidas del Gobierno Popular and Museo de la Solidaridad[66]—during the presidency—were part of a political platform for the

[65] El Pueblo Tiene Arte con Allende was a three-week event celebrated simultaneously in 100 cities across the country. Artists presented their work for sale, mainly in low-cost serigraphs.

One week before the elections of 1970, the brigades of the different parties of Unidad Popular organized the initiative Amanecer Venceremos, which consisted of painting the slogan "+3 Allende Venceremos ¡Unidad Popular!" across the country. According to Sandoval Espinoza, by the morning of September 1 there were at least 15,000 murals containing the slogan in Santiago alone (31). During the electoral process, the brigades focused only on brief written messages, but soon after the victory they incorporated colors and images.

[66] Following the spirit of the agit-train used by the Bolshevik government during the Russian Revolution for purposes of propaganda, and the pedagogical missions of the Spanish Second Republic, the Tren Popular de la Cultura was one of the first actions of Allende's government. The purpose was to make available all kinds of artistic expressions, especially for those living in remote rural areas. In February, 1971, a train with 60 artists departed to the south of Chile to give presentations. "Era el símbolo de la medida 40 del programa de la Unidad Popular que tenía por objetivo la creación del Instituto Nacional del Arte y la Cultura, además de las escuelas de formación artística en todas las comunas del país," narrates Carolina Espinosa {Citation}in her documentary about this Project, *El Tren Popular de la Cultura*.

Operación Verdad was an initiative that took place in March 1971, during the worsening political upheaval and the campaign of misinformation against Allende. The purpose was to disarticulate and counteract the reactionary critics of the adversaries by showing the social advances of Unidad Popular. Following this

democratization of art. The brigades were an example of the way in which Unidad Popular challenged hierarchical orders. As Sandoval Espino states, "[una vez que llegó Allende al gobierno] el brigadismo pasó de ser una práctica de propaganda política, a convertirse en un medio de expresión colectivo en el que participaron diversos grupos anónimos integrados por artistas, militantes, estudiantes, obreros, comprometidos con el nuevo proyecto social" (33).

The speed at which mass media was developing, together with the unpredictable changes reflected in the news at that time of agitation, coincided with Balmes' development of a spontaneous graphic style, just as his growing use of the big canvas format coincided with the muralist brigades. Working out in the open during cold nights, these groups developed the urban identity of Chile and raised a visual awareness in the audience. Alejandro 'Mono' González, director of the prominent Brigada Ramona Parra between 1970 and 1973, describes the power of the movement: "[el mural] es la palabra de la calle para cambiar el mundo." This is not the usual way in which walls are covered in posters and messages during election time, but it gave new prominence to murals as a political and social tool. Muralism followed its own path in Chile but acknowledges the precedents set by José Guadalupe Posada's popular art, the Mexican mural movement, and the Cuban *Vallas*: "Aquí el arte está ligado a la política, la sociología se une a la expresión del hombre. En Chile el mural se despoja de tecnicismo y se amolda a cualquier muro, pierde el afán de posteridad y recurre a lo inmediato y contingente, a los anhelos y esperanzas, a las

meeting the Comité Internacional de Solidaridad Artística con Chile promoted a project to give the Chilean people access to an incredible and unique art collection. Under the aegis of the Instituto de Arte Latinoamericano (University of Chile) —directed at that time by Miguel Rojas Mix—Brazilian art critic Mário Pedrosa, Chilean gallerist Carmen Waugh and Italian artist Carlo Levi started the successful and unprecedented Museo de la Solidaridad (1971-1973), an art museum in support of Allende's administration, formed by donations from foreign artists. After the coup, the initiative continued in exile, in a series of European cities, as the itinerant Museo Internacional de la Resistencia Salvador Allende (1973-1990), until finally it came to constitute what is now the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (founded in 1991) in Santiago de Chile (Badal; Balmes, *40 Años*; Khouri; Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende; Waugh).

insatisfacciones" (González). Once a mural has accomplished its purpose and the information has changed, then it is time to cover it with a newer message. Anonymity is part of the intention because the message belongs to everyone.[67]

In a short article written for *Araucaria*,[68] Patricio Cleary recalls the beginnings of the political mural painting: "se convirtió en un fenómeno artístico nacional de masas y alcanzó su plenitud en la campaña electoral de 1970. Lo que había nacido en aquel mes de julio de 1963 [en Valparaíso]… pasó a convertirse en uno de los aportes más pujantes y originales de la creatividad popular chilena" (Cleary 195). According to 'Mono' González, Balmes used to say that there were more students painting in the streets than at the Department of Fine Arts (Trujillo Novoa). Many artists participated with the brigades in the creation of murals, as is the case with Balmes, Barrios and Roberto Matta (Sandoval Espino 36).

As mentioned above, the street is a primary source for Balmes, enriching the collage dynamic in his work. His piece *Santo Domingo, Mayo Del 65* (Figure 3.1) is almost like the representation of a public wall, defaced and damaged by the signs of time. It displays the superposition of multiple layers of newspaper, white painting in the background, yellow and red brushstrokes across the lower part, and a "*No*" in black dominating two thirds of the canvas. Splashed and dripping paint, and smudged, blended pigmentation, give the effect of the rush and immediacy of spray painting or graffiti. However, rather than a mural covered in random political *affiches*, the artist selected newspapers that referenced the massacre in the Dominican Republic in April 1965. Balmes understood how street art amended and filtered relevant elements from his contemporary world. It was the beginning of pop art and

[67] One of the crucial aspects of the "Manifiesto del Sindicato de Pintores y Escultores" (1923), was that the Mexican muralists were not to sign their mural paintings in order to better represent the collective voice of the union.

[68] This renowned magazine was one of the main cultural publications during exile. The Chilean National Library offers open access to all the issues through the digital project Memoria Chilena (www.memoriachilena.gob.cl).

graffiti, the *open veins* of Latin America, increased global integration, new levels of information exchange, and the new circuits of communication networks and mass media. His canvas acquired the dynamic of reportage, as Barrios mentioned, or as a documentary of collective memory, as I propose here.

A huge "*No*" protests the violence of the US military intervention in Dominican Republic. Balmes' tall wall artwork format was developed during those years, coinciding with his strong rejection of all forms of political repression, alongside the large advertising panels that he was preparing for Unidad Popular.[69] Barrios and Balmes were part of the Comité de Artistas Plásticos y Escritores, supporting the left-wing political alliance, and they designed some of the large format images and street art posters used by Allende during his massive events.

Each time Balmes uses the word "no" as part of his visual composition, its effect becomes more and more intense and visually powerful, culminating in the infamous events of 1973. Badal underlines the premonitory character of one of the artist's posters created in 1971. The composition makes reference to political violence and military insurrection. The slogan "No a la Sedición" ("No Sedition") is superimposed over the trigger of a black rifle (Figure 3.5). The word "*NO*" in red capital letters is at the forefront, directly over the handle of the firearm. Below it, "a la sedición" is written in a lighter color beneath the gun, completing the message. Balmes was responding and protesting once more—as he did in 1965—to an abuse of military power. A year later, as the political and economic crises were escalating, his condemnation of all forms of violence attained the impressive form of a two-meter tall "*No*" in red in the center right of the canvas in his work *No* (1972 mixed on

[69] From cave paintings to the frescos of the Italian Quattrocento, from ancient mural painting in Monte Alban, Mexico, to contemporary graffiti, wall paintings have had many different motifs. But during the 20th century, the Mexican mural movement—the most celebrated group in the revival of the monumental fresco—aligned their outlook with intense involvement in political and social projects.

canvas, 193 x 300 cm) (Figure 3.6). As before, the written language used in this work completes the representation, this time in protest against the military faction that was preparing to launch the coup. This artwork is a prelude to tragedy, "[un] último grito premonitorio de una desesperada protesta," asserts Beatriz Huidobro Hott (8). The large letters censor the barrel of a firearm, as if attempting to block the gunshot. Since color is always a sign in Balmes' work, he reveals his political position in the contrast of red over yellow. As Barrios describes it, "[Balmes] sigue expresándose en signos; especialmente rojos y amarillos animando planos negros, color esencial que simbolizará la Guerra Civil Española de fines de los años 40" (in Badal 78). In this mixed media canvas, Balmes uses more intense shades of red and yellow than in *Santo Domingo*, while the shading effect of the smudged charcoal reveals traces of the hand that draws and writes. The artist again leaves remnants of the sketching process in the background. Protest is the last hope, while the hand urgently outlines—highlighting, blurring the boundaries of objects—what the collective voice has foretold.

3.5. Memory of 9/11

The victory of a socialist government that had been legitimately elected in open elections was cut short. An unthinkable attack on Chilean democracy led to 17 years of military dictatorship: illegal detentions; forced disappearances; a community in exile; the constitutional referendum that increased Pinochet's power; the dissolution of the lower house of Congress; the dismantling of the national university; the privatization of key sectors of the Chilean economy, like electricity and telecommunications, as well as those covering basic needs such as health and education.

Tuesday 9/11 is a significant date in recent world history. The air attacks on the Twin Towers in New York drastically reconfigured the global understanding of national

security and the relationship between national security and personal freedom around the world.[70] But in Chile that date is commemorated for a different reason. On Tuesday 9/11 in 1973, the Chilean Air Force, with the support of the US, bombed La Moneda Palace. The 18th century architectonic jewel went up in flames in a historic event that the military regime manipulated for its own ends. But at the same time, this image remained vivid in the collective memory of the exiles who were attempting to organize resistance to the dictatorship and help restore democracy to Chile while living abroad. For those who remained in the country, the event was to be the harbinger of the state terrorism to come, but they found refuge in the fissures and blind spots of the military dictatorship and fought repression over the next 17 years.

The United States clearly emerged as a superpower during WWII and the postwar years. As part of this reconfiguration of the global order, as Joan Garcés has pointed out, the US engaged in an aggressive foreign policy, sponsoring and instigating a series of civil wars, coups d'état and dictatorships during the Cold War years in Central and South America, and, most famously of course, in Cuba. "La administración Truman cambia la alianza antigermana por la antisoviética, la lucha ideológica y propagandística del antifascismo fue reorientada contra las izquierdas en general y el 'comunismo' en particular" (Garcés in S. Allende 25). Having assumed hegemony across the globe, and keen to retain its power of influence over the Southern Hemisphere, the US was not prepared to accept the spread of communism or socialist perspectives in Latin America.

[70] In 2004, due to investigations following the tragic attack in NYC, newly declassified documents emerged, revealing the secret bank accounts where Pinochet had saved millions of dollars—under an alias—thanks to a systematic web of corruption.

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution revitalized leftist ideologies and cultural production in the Americas and soon became an emblem of social transformation.[71] However, it also increased US concern about the presence of communism on the continent, leading it to sponsor a series of programs to try to gain the favor of writers and intellectuals.[72]

The anti-communist and anti-socialist discourse suited the oligarchy groups, which were keen to protect their economic privilege and access to decision making. Chile aligned its own laws to those of the United States in criminalizing communist membership and stigmatizing the whole political spectrum of left-wing ideologies. "Las sucesivas alianzas populares posteriores a 1945 fueron combatidas desde EEUU—y países aliados—en intensidad proporcional al apoyo con que contaba cada coalición. La intervención fue incrementada hasta lograr destruir en 1973 el propio Estado," asserts Garcés (in Allende 26).

Analyst Peter Kornbluh highlights how declassified records from the Chile Documentation Project (National Security Archive, George Washington University) reveal that the campaign of agitation and media misinformation to oust Allende was connected to the highest level of the Nixon administration (*Agustin Edwards: A Declassified Obituary*). Media mogul Agustín Edwards Eastman denied throughout his life the true contents of the secret meetings he held with Henry Kissinger, National Security Advisor, and Richard Helms, CIA Director, in which he provided the US government with crucial information to help generate political instability and orchestrate the military overthrow. According to the declassified archive edited by Kornbluh, Edwards had an massive influence on US policy and CIA intervention in Chile. President of the media group *El Mercurio*, the tycoon

[71] The later alliance with the Soviet Union, and the Padilla torture case, radicalized the revolutionary project and sent revolutionary allies—communist and socialist—into exile. From that point, whenever reports of human rights violations emerged, intellectuals, artists and writers would have different opinions about whether to continue to support the revolution.

received covert funding for an extensive campaign of black propaganda against the political program of Unidad Popular.

El Mercurio and other Edwards media outlets served as alarmist megaphones to spread hate and exacerbate polarization across Chile. Edwards' chain of newspapers "maintained a steady barrage of anti-government criticism, exploiting every possible point of friction between the government and the democratic opposition," as stated in a declassified CIA memorandum from November 1973 (CIA 1). In this context, 'Mono' González underlines the importance of the brigades: "Los medios de comunicación en Chile son de la derecha, las calles y sus muros eran para protesta de izquierda" (in an interview with Guzmán, *Salvador*). Headings such as "Marxistas pretendían matar a dos millones de chilenos" (*El Mercurio*, October 6, 1973), "No hay tales desaparecidos" (*La Segunda*, February 9, 1972/1977), or "¡Esto es el marxismo!"—as a footnote to almost full-page photographs—helped to shape Chilean public opinion in favor of a violent discourse that exalted a binary opposition system of thought; reduced capacity for criticism; stigmatized political opponents; omitted, from the very start, the dictatorship's systematic human rights violations; and suppressed Chilean society's ability to develop its collective memory—both inside the country and in exile—of the terror of this regime.

The covert funding continued after the coup to "present the Junta in the most positive light for the Chilean [and foreign] public" (CIA 1) and to discredit, and even erase, the memory of Allende's program: "Favorables perspectivas de apoyo internacional a Chile" (*El Mercurio*, October 6, 1973); "Junta de Gobierno inició campaña pro construcción" (*El Mercurio*, September 19, 1973), "Allende dirigía red de espionaje" (*La Segunda*, 1974); "Siniestros planes contra Chile tratan de aplicar el PC y el MIR" (*La Segunda*, 1974). The

[72] For instance, Ford Foundation grants.

press also reinforced the term "Pronunciamiento" instead of "Golpe de Estado" to justify the actions of the Armed Forces. During a press conference, Pinochet refused to use the term "coup" when an Argentinian journalist asked, "¿cuáles fueron las razones de este golpe de estado?," Pinochet responded: "En primer lugar, no es este un golpe de Estado, sino que es un movimiento militar. Nosotros hemos visto el caos en que estaba sumiéndose el país, a consecuencia del marxismo-leninismo. Esto nos llevó a tomar esta medida," printed under the headline: "Este no es un golpe de Estado" (*El Mercurio*, September 19, 1973). The circulation of ideologies in mass media remains in the imaginary of a society long enough to distort the account of *history*. I am alluding to specific archives, like phrases taken from a newspaper article, but these are not isolated messages; rather, they form part of a larger context that is deeply rooted in the collective imaginaries. Again, as the poetic characters in Peri Rossi's book and the group of friends in Moyano's novel assert, military coups forge submissive subjectivities and bodies through oppression and exclusion, and they also use the legal system and repressive state apparatus to reinforce the government's power.

Western thought has long given privilege to written knowledge. The limited and perverted sense in which written media influences the public is intrinsically linked not only to a system of communication, but to forms of generating thought in Western societies. Mark Johnson underlines how a logocentric perspective scorns other forms of knowledge: "Our ordinary ways of thinking about the operations of mind and thought draw massively on our conception of written and spoken language" (203). Language has paved the way for political and economic powers. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said also emphasized how the construction of written narratives, i.e. national literatures, strengthen imperialism.

This systematic propaganda took the form of an imaginary chorus, insulting left-wing ideologies and rejecting the programs of Unidad Popular. As Butler also explains,

"The interpellation echoes past interpellations, and binds the speakers, as if they spoke in unison across time" (*Bodies* 226). In this way, these sensationalist headlines were the itineration of a chain of lies that were put forward over time to hide and pervert the truth. The citizen as public menace is a dangerous notion that authorizes the destruction of the *other*. The adjectives "extremistas" or "terroristas"—and the use of "marxistas"—were accompanied by the stigmatization prevalent during the Cold War—polarizing the meaning of discourse. This strategy of criminalizing the ideological opponent erases the humanity of their bodies and reduces left-wing individuals to disposable objects.

Defying all laws of representation of meaning, "this is not a coup" reminds us of "c'est ne pas une pipe" (Magritte). The difference, of course, is that the surrealist painter's work was a reflection on the gap between language and meaning, while Pinochet's coup destroyed the lives and twisted the ideologies of real people across the country.[73] His denial—like many of the blatant and wanton declarations he would give in the years to come—is an insult to those who were persecuted, imprisoned, tortured, exiled, and murdered, and to their relatives who even today continue to demand justice.

During the dictatorship most of the murals were covered over with gray paint, cultural projects were dismantled, the university was interfered with, and most of the paintings donated to the Museo de la Solidaridad remained hidden away at the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo (some disappeared on transit to Chile, while other paintings remained under the custody of the army). The junta prepared a list of censored books, and book burning occurred until the end of the dictatorship, while cultural expressions, especially those related to the program of Unidad Popular, were forbidden. There was a hypervigilance of language codes that easily recognized the traces of rebellion in the art produced for the

[73] As well as the attack on La Moneda, the Armed Forces attacked Allende's personal residence when his wife, Hortencia Bussi, was inside.

masses by the brigades or in the social art that was at its peak at the time of the coup. Some brigades split up after the overthrow of Allende, some young communists engaged in armed resistance, while others retreated for a few years—either in exile or within Chile—trying to untangle their memories of the military coup. Popular artists and muralists who stayed in the country and who challenged the dictatorship through their militant loyalty to Unidad Popular suffered persecution, prison and torture. One of these resistance groups was the newly formed Agrupación de Plásticos Jóvenes, which used alternative spaces and worked clandestinely. "Eran agrupaciones orgánicamente dependientes del militantismo combatiente de una izquierda contestataria… y cuyo arte se dejó sobredeterminar por su referencia ilustrativa a la contingencia de las luchas nacionales" (*Márgenes* 26).[74] However, as Richard remarks, censorship was imprecise, without an official catalogue. This allowed for radical new forms of art, such as the Escena de Avanzada or the activism-performances of the acclaimed Colectivo de Acciones de Arte, partly because they reached a smaller audience. In terms of Richard, "lo oficial no demostró nunca su fiel adscripción a un repertorio obligado de imágenes prefijadas que reflejara uniformemente la superestructura de lo dominante" (*Márgenes* 29).

In 1973, just a few days before the military overthrow, Balmes had an individual exhibition. Carlos Maldonado emphasises the many characteristics of Balmes' work here that would become even more crucial to his art during exile: "La obra de José Balmes se singulariza sobre todo por su suerte y estremecido dramatismo; le bastan muy pocos elementos, apenas una silueta, una mancha sugerente, un perfil, una mano, para conseguir un trozo gráfico lleno de vida, de expresión palpitante, que dignifica el recuerdo de un doloroso

[74] The artist Guillermo Núñez (1930) was imprisoned and tortured in 1974. In 1975, after he had been released, he grave a polemical exhibition entitled *Exculturas-Pinturas*. "Exhibió una corbata adquirida en Estados Unidos, cuyo tejido era rallado con los colores de la bandera chilena y la suspendió colgada del revés,

suceso, no sólo en aquel homenaje tradicional estáticamente doliente, sino de manera activa, crítica, de denuncia" (in Badal 138). The human body rises up on the artist's canvases as a fragment of history and as the result of social contingency. His work was absolutely immersed in the social struggle of those times.

One of the main interests of this analysis is precisely the configuration of the body in Balmes' artwork as an allusion to absence/presence. A tension shared, as we have seen, by all the creators included in this study. The disquisitions about the lost lives of the *desaparecidos* are different in the three chapters of this book, but the matter of the *disappeared* remains an open wound in the social fabric of each of the three countries. In Moyano's novel, the musician and writer Rolando relies on sound (from both music and the musicality of words) to try to locate "al desaparecido, esa extraña palabra," in his imaginaries, while the poet-lover in Peri Rossi's book names them and their objects in order to honor their memory. In contrast to the figurative representation of the sculpture of the young Pablo Míguez in Parque de la Memoria, Balmes enfolds the body in tangible and intangible meanings at the same time. Victims of forced disappearance were no longer visible, in the sense that Butler refers to with the notion of *signification* and *materiality* as indissoluble concepts. What "matters about an object is its matter" (*Bodies* 31), states the philosopher. De-materialized, disavowed, stigmatized, the "imprisoned/abducted-disappeared" loses materiality, becoming a disposable object. An abject body has been expelled out of the canonic center of the hegemonic understanding of body and, therefore, has lost its qualities as a human being and as a citizen. This authorizes all forms of crimes against non-hegemonic bodies, i.e. non-hegemonic human beings. *Disappearance* is the most extreme of these forms of unlawful acts, but, as I proposed in chapter 2, with respect to

como una horca." He was imprisoned again, and later sent into exile and labeled 'peligroso para la seguridad nacional' (Ortega-Márquez et al. 74).

the different instances of political repression in Moyano's novel, I wish to extend these repercussions to any kind of violence that forces a person to live under the most extreme conditions of lost,

> We lost our home, which means the familiarity of daily life. We lost our occupation, which means the confidence that we are of some use in this world. We lost our language, which means the naturalness of reactions, the simplicity of gestures, the unaffected expression of feelings. We left our relatives in the Polish ghettos and our best friends have been killed in concentration camps, and that means the rupture of our private lives" (Arendt 264)

As Arendt notably emphasizes, all the elements of everyday life are stripped away from war refugees. Under any dictatorship, practices like torture, illegal detentions, forced disappearances, forced displacement, or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment are different ways to *displace*, erase, and alienate the individual from public, social and private life. The abject subject is rejected by this unthinkable world, losing all trace of human identity and all the components of what makes life livable. The political intolerance that prevails during a period of totalitarianism enforces dichotomies that are an attack on the complex system that represents a non-dualist conception of the body.

Balmes sees the violence and highlights the absence of all those who have been murdered or expelled. The artist rescues their names and their specific context. The titles of his artworks related to these topics are mostly transparent. The Spanish refugees, Dominican citizens, Che Guevara or Patrice Lumumba are *presences* that have been deprived of their place in the world. However, through the canvas they all regain their right to *be*. This is also a way of reconfiguring their place in the collective memory, connecting the subjects to a

historical context, and condemning the violent circumstances of their deaths. By highlighting the physical *absence* of those bodies, the artwork is incorporating critical and alternative versions of history. This understanding of body goes beyond the flesh. This representation refers also to the importance of the footprint, the vestiges of life, and the traces left in the places where they once dwelled.

The concept of the body has been colonized by Cartesian views of mind and thought, the binary perspectives of mind-body dualism have historically reduced human experience and stigmatized non-binary bodies. Mark Johnson emphasizes "the failure of philosophers to acknowledge the existence of deep, systematic conceptual metaphor and its grounding in embodied meaning" (205) to reach towards a wider human understanding. The foundational doctrines of mind configured the concept of body in dualistic terms—the mind and interior life as the center of our capacity of abstract thought, and the body as peripheric. The epistemological valorization of the body is one of the fundamental axes in Feminist theory for the transformation of oppressive social systems. Together with other culturally entrenched dualistic terms, the diminished status of the body has historically authorized the denigration—erasure, invisibility, marginalization—of certain groups of subjects. As I presented in the previous chapter on Argentina, the associations of Madres and Abuelas made these contradictions visible and embodied the struggle represented in the painful oxymoron absence/presence. According to Grosz, the combination of a mental or conceptual understanding with the material elements of the subject enables us to think with a harmonious and unified cohesion of mind and body. She uses the term *corporeality* to explain this.

In 1973, Balmes painted the series *José Ricardo Ahumada Vásquez* (1973, oil on canvas 105 x 95 cm) (Figure 3.7), which depicts the murder of the Communist worker.[75] According to González Vera, "[en la serie,] Balmes restituye y elimina partes de ese cuerpo, hay una economía de recursos tanto gráficos como simbólicos" (40). Together with the paintings of Che Guevara and Patrice Lumumba's dead bodies, this marks the beginning of a new aesthetic for Balmes in terms of his depictions of the human body beyond figurative representation. The body lying prone on the ground, like in a crime scene. This occurs particularly in connection with historical events, in which the artist proposes an embodiment of more allusive impulses from the sharp perception of the visual space. Balmes repeats signs through his work, as with his recurring use of the word "no." In the case of his repeated use of the silhouette of Ahumada Vázquez in later works, the symbolic value of each repetition augments the complex net that symbolizes the body. This cruel and terrible murder that occurred in 1973 becomes transgenerational for Balmes, who resignifies it in series of serigraphs from 1986 and 1994 that are also linked to cases of political repression and police brutality. Following González Vera, the artist expands the liminality of the body as a space of containment and in doing so revitalizes the memory of the young worker (*Papel*, 40). His silhouettes insist, throughout the decades, on the necessity of denouncing repetitive crimes, the sorts of crimes that are not just isolated occurrences but part of systemic forms of suppression of the body-human-citizen.

During the first years of their exile, the Balmes-Barrios family kept their suitcases packed in a corner of the room, as many exiles did, continually expecting to wake up from the nightmare. In the mid 1970s, both Balmes and Barrios began revisiting the events of September 11 on their canvases. Collective memory and social criticism would be

[75] The 22-year-old was killed while marching to a rally of public support for Unidad Popular. According to the press, the murderer was a member of a right-wing gang with links to Allende's political opponents.

fundamental to their artwork of those years. Richard contrasts the militant perspective of the institutionalized left-wing and that of the Escena de Avanzada,

> el arte del exilio declamaba su pertenencia a una Historia concebida—en nombre de la Memoria y la Identidad—como plenitud y trascendencia de sentido, las obras más críticas de la 'avanzada' trabajaron siempre con una temporalidad retóricamente desprovista de toda heroicidad; una temporalidad histórica basada en las figuras trizadas de un relato lleno de vacíos que, por lo mismo, se había vuelto casi inenarrable. (*Márgenes* 22)

The dialectic binary opposition of communism vs. capitalism during Cold War polarized Latin American intellectuals between pro-Cuban Revolution or anti-Cuban, especially during the harsh years of the Quinquenio Gris (1971-1976) on the island. The rebellious spirit of the time also guided left-wing thought towards fundamentalism and a categorical understanding of popular regimes. In the case of Chile, the coup erased *meaning*, as Richard underlines,

> Emerge en plena zona de catástrofe cuando ha naufragado el sentido, debido no sólo al fracaso de un determinado proyecto histórico—el de la Unidad Popular—sino al quiebre de todo el sistema de referencias sociales y culturales que, hasta 1973, garantizaba ciertas claves de entendimiento colectivo. Una vez desarticulada la historia y rota la organicidad social de su sujeto, todo deberá ser reinventado, comenzando por la textura intercomunicativa del lenguaje que, habiendo sobrevivido a la catástrofe, ya no sabe cómo nombrar los restos. La toma de poder que ocasionó la fractura del anterior marco de experiencias sociales y políticas de la Unidad Popular

> desintegró también sus pautas de significación y lenguaje, llevando lo histórico a una crisis total de reconocimiento e inteligibilidad. (*Márgenes* 16)

One example of the revision of memory of the military attacks over La Moneda is Balmes' large format painting *Septiembre 1973* (*September 1973*, 1977, mixed media on canvas, 190 x 260.5 cm) (Figure 3.8). The title is a clear reference to the day of the coup. I do not necessarily mean that Balmes is responding directly to Pinochet's distorted message, but again, as in his paintings about the Spanish exile, the use of historical photography is a testimony, a piece of empiric evidence with which to reposition the collective memory and expose the spread of a historical lie. The diptych represents a scene depicting the moment when the army and the national police arrested and subjugated the last of the bodyguards who resisted the attack on President Salvador Allende. In fact, it is a palimpsest on one of a famous series of photographs taken by the Dutch war photographer Chas Gerretsen.

As Patricio Guzmán narrates in his documentary *Chile, la Memoria Obstinada* (1997), on September 11 there were 36 people—presidential security, palace functionaries, and members of the cabinet—who fought until La Moneda Palace fell to Pinochet's soldiers. The *carabineros* were part of the military coup and they abandoned the presidency office straight away: "salieron todos los carabineros, ninguno quiso cumplir con su deber de defender al gobierno," claims Joan Garcés (in interview for *Caso*).[76]

After resisting the ground attacks and air raids, president Allende broadcast a final speech from his office live to the nation on Radio Magallanes:

> Colocado en un tránsito histórico, pagaré con mi vida la lealtad al pueblo.
>
> Y les digo que tengo la certeza de que la semilla que entregáramos a la

[76] As the Spanish lawyer recalls in interview with Patricio Guzmán, when the bombing started, Allende asked Garcés (his closest advisor) to leave La Moneda to tell the world the truth about the attack and about the programs of Unidad Popular. In 1997, Garcés was the main defense attorney of the victims in the Pinochet case launched in Spain by the attorney Carlos Castresana.

> conciencia digna de miles y miles de chilenos no podrá ser segada definitivamente. Tienen la fuerza, podrán avasallarnos, pero no se detienen los procesos sociales ni con el crimen ni con la fuerza. La historia es nuestra y la hacen los pueblos. (Allende 135)

After these powerful and historic last words, he finally determined to surrender. He gave instructions to the last defenders to form a line and walk out unarmed onto Morandé Street where the soldiers took them prisoner. In Gerretsen's photograph there is a pile of people lying down on their stomachs on the sidewalk, while a line of armed soldiers is entering the palace through the same door. According to Garcés, everyone who was arrested in that scene was tortured in the Tacna Regiment Building in Santiago.

Balmes uses a detail of the photograph and focuses on the pile of bodies that lie down subjugated. However, the diffuse lines do not delimit a single figure and the viewer cannot distinguish one person from the other. Instead, we see legs, feet, arms, hands, heads, clothes: only fragments of bodies. The pieces are making up the whole. At the same time, the blurred outlines represent the motion expressed in the photograph, the speed at which democracy was torn down, the vivid memories of that violent day. Gerretsen captured the moment when one bodyguard falls down and lifts his hands up as sign of surrender while a soldier aims a rifle at his face. In interview with Patricio Guzmán, Balmes speaks about this scene:

> me gustó mucho esa parte del detalle del documento (fotografía de Gerretsen). Como hay un movimiento, es mucho más '*blurred'*—como dicen los franceses—mucho más ambiguo, mucho menos claro, desde el punto de vista de la imagen. En esta especie de movimiento apenas perceptible se crea esa zona vaga, indefinida, que tú no sabes bien dónde empieza la ropa, dónde

> empieza el cuerpo, y dónde empieza la cabeza. Entonces es un movimiento muy sugerente, muy vivo, muy rico, y a la vez muy abierto. (in Guzmán, *Memoria*, min 8)

This visual encoding of movement combines the original event and the memories. History is present as a motor force in this painting. The image is a high contrast of representation of citizenship; on the one hand there is the soldier, as the quintessential citizen (Lowe), and on the other hand is the abject body, which is being expelled from the citizenry.

Guzmán did an excellent job, not only of following the government of Unidad Popular in his renowned *La Batalla de Chile*, but also of revisiting the day of the coup in his documentary *Chile, Memoria Obstinada*, and searching for the survivors and names behind Gerretsen's photographs. The man who is falling down is Juan Osses, a member of the president's security team, who was planning to get married the day he was arrested by the military forces. On his way out of the palace a sergeant kicked him in the stomach, causing him to fall, roll down the stairs and finally land on his back on the street.

There is no palace in Balmes' painting, only bodies representing the historical moment of the attack on the dream of a democratic project. A white background stands in for La Moneda and a thick dark vertical bar replaces the door, passing through the bodies. Another notable absence in the painting is the soldiers—the abstract citizen—who appeared in the original photo. Balmes focuses entirely on the loyal bodyguards. The army that mobilized to oust democracy is nonexistent in the painting. This shows an ethical decision to revisit the collective memory of that day by embodying resistance and not giving space on the canvas to the violent military forces. The canvas is occupied only by the bodies-humans-citizens who were outcast by direct repression and then *disappeared* from the official

recount by the military junta. As in *El Luche*, this artwork is a countersite to national memory and culture. In his understanding of September 11, the artist is also taking the physical movement of a body falling down and expanding it to make it represent a historical process, a historical subject-collectivity. All the characters are absorbed by the dynamics of this traumatic moment: the body, the resistance, the fight for freedom, the surrender, the collapse or *falling down* of democracy, all come together on the canvas. The hands of Osses protrude from the human pile, showing vulnerability. That historic day suspended in a pair of hands. A red detail on the floor resembles a trickle of blood. As mentioned before, the colors red and yellow are a constant feature in Balmes' paintings—and, to a lesser extent, blue. Sometimes they are used to dominate the canvas, and sometimes they convey just a brief or hidden message—and here they constitute a new link between 1939 (Spanish refugees) and 1973. This painting is no exception; even though the central image is composed of dark hues, the red detail cries out for the viewer's attention.

The main elements of the painting acquire a greater emphasis in a later piece titled *Cuerpos* (*Bodies*, 1979, mixed media on canvas, 195 x 228 cm) (Figure 3.11). This piece is a close up of the same scene. The main character is Osses again, drawn in charcoal and painted with oil brushstrokes. His blurred hands move from one side to the other. Motion is a more powerful element here, due to the wide brushstrokes and blurred outlines. The viewers gaze cannot distinguish the exact edges of the head, neck, or shoulders, or see where the other body starts. Here again the body is representing multiple layers: La Moneda Palace, the date of 11 September, the collapse of the government. Once again there is a wide vertical screen that passes through the characters, except that this time it is blue and we can see the door jambs on the side. A final layer of scumbled blue brushstrokes, mixed together with the movement of the hands and the vertical blue line, traces the edge of the door over

the body. The architecture (space) mingled with the characters (body) and the motion (time) reveals an interesting interaction between space, time and body. In this traumatic moment of political repression, La Moneda plays an important role in housing not only the presidential palace, but also the first civilian Latin American socialist government that won the presidency through open elections. The pillars shudder, along with the citizens and the project of a socialist model. In the lower right-hand corner of the painting there is a textual reminder of the event, handwritten on top of a press clipping. This is a relevant fragment of the subject and a personal testimony that challenges the distorted reality disseminated by right-wing media: "11 septiembre / A las primeras horas de la madrugada las tropas pertenecientes a los…" Again, the hand-charcoal catches the attention and neutralizes the virulent black campaign that polarized the country. The artist offers the alternative history. Empiric facts experienced by the body and reaffirmed by the hand are indisputable sources of historical truth. In the same way, 30,000 survivors embodied an alternative epistemology for their national political space and sites of memory and trauma when they testified in the Pinochet case. On the canvas, time is frozen in a moment of violence that would last for another 17 years, until the end of the military dictatorship.

3.6. Conclusions: Bodies in the Canvas Revisiting the Trauma

As I showed earlier in the chapter on Moyano's novel, violence, after directly affecting one body, then spreads outwards from the immediate environment, affecting even three contemporary generations. The artistic representation of the somatic experience is a combative way of recuperating the body that has suffered some form of political repression, remembering the names of the victims, and integrating them into the collective memory of the community to which they once belonged. Art by itself does not create a revolution or bring back democracy, but it does offer a conscious reflection of its times. Critic Nelly

Richard contributes to this topic when talking about the testimonials of survivors: “Muchos de estos sobrevivientes de tortura agradecieron poder dar su testimonio en un programa televisivo porque esta oportunidad puede leerse simbólicamente como una restitución de identidad” (“Septiembre 2013”). This restitution of identity also occurs as a symbolic process in the collectivity when learning for the first time about cases of extreme violence or forced disappearance—as portrayed by Balmes in his paintings. Denial and social polarization are common obstacles in societies where authoritarian regimes have imposed neoliberal politics.

In his artwork, Balmes selects events that have been displaced by the official history of authoritarian regimes during the dictatorships of both Franco and Pinochet. He is able to do so by virtue of his political commitment and his critical understanding of time and history. He registers and archives on canvases, for future generations to see, the occurrences that totalitarianism denies: the refugee’s journey, solidarity, the coup d’état. Franco denied the truth of Spanish exile with the reasoning that those migrants did not have passports, they were stateless. With their citizenship disavowed, the refugees therefore lost their humanity. Pinochet insisted on calling the coup a *Pronunciamiento*, stressing that the military forces were actually *saving* the country. Dictatorships occur and they should never be forgotten. For Balmes, it is a matter of urgency to recognize the social impact of such events and to register the occurrences in aesthetic representations as archives that empower collective memory.

We live in an era of logocentrism. The power of headlines in right-wing newspapers relies on the trust that society has for the *word* and not for the body. But Balmes resignifies the power of written language as a site where the subject finds liberation in another history and memory. As seen in the series *El Luche*, calligraphy is not merely an image in Balmes’

work, it is an invitation to follow the message in a different register. The pictorial language and the written language are working together on the canvas. Hence the suitability of the collage form to these topics; every material is relevant when composing a representation that requires different forms of collaboration to create a social message. It is not the ludic assemblage of the avant-garde that emphasizes "the juxtaposition of disparate and incongruous imagery" (Clarke, "Collage"). The use of newspaper clippings and photojournalism is especially relevant at a time of intentional misinformation. Thereby, the artist convenes to dialogue with a non-official history, that which has been silenced by the power of a totalitarian regime.

For the persecuted traveler in Peri Rossi's poems, and for Moyano's seven hundred voyagers—with their testimonies of cruelty and humiliation—exile and political repression are irrefutably indissoluble. The same is true of Balmes' work. To omit this aspect of the contemporary history of the term 'exile' implies leaving behind the chapter of authoritarianism that the term encompasses. Just as Arendt emphasizes why the word 'refugee' must not fall into disuse, since it allows us to continue to debate the mistakes of the past, 'diaspora,' 'refuge,' 'exile' and 'migration' are terms which have been superimposed as epistemological issues that allow us to understand postmodern society and recent history.

Cognitive changes are noticeable in the artistic and narrative devices present in Peri Rossi, Moyano and Balmes. They reveal an artistic subject in reconfiguration. In all three we can see a multiple voice and hand that seeks not only polyphony and spatial three-dimensionality, but also plays with the representation of the representation. The performance of the archive. Both the writers and the artist deploy a series of devices for reviewing the political space, through intimate deployment, whether in a love affair (Peri Rossi), childhood

and family history (Moyano), or in the multiple mobility and personal history of different exiles (Balmes). As Tricia Rose has observed, intimate bonds intersect with the public space of the art and dismantle the false stability of binary concepts that damage the free expression of citizens and those citizens' right to a plural cultural space. Public/private space, political/intimate, archive/repertoire: migrant bodies, in transit (across the sea or the Pyrenees, demonstrating in front of the Casa Rosada or defending the Palacio de la Moneda), dismantle authoritarian discourses and different threads of the inequities that reveal the complexity of contemporary human mobility.

Conclusions: Bodies in Transit, Bodies in Process

The complex "flows" of migrants from the 1960s to the 1980s from the Southern Cone not only shifted the landscape of the region in demographic terms, but also allowed authors and Latin Americanist scholars to rethink the dominant canons of literature and visual art in terms of the tensions between centralism and nationalism, turning instead to de-centered and transnational production, circulation and consumption of art and literatures (García Canclini). Due to cultural centralization in federal capitals, cities such as Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile were already silencing and ostracizing authors and artists from the provinces, even before the military dictatorships. However, when that segment of the diverse intellectual life of those countries fled their material nations, i.e. the territories, the borders of their homelands expanded through the migrant-bodies, thus challenging the apparent stability and centralization of their respective canons. As historian Peter Burke suggests, forced mobility challenges intellectual moorings and generates new ones.

This did not happen exclusively in Latin America, but with massive migration during the second half of the 20th century, the *imagined community*, as Benedict Anderson posits, of the contingent nation-space organization of culture, was disrupted. The notion of stability failed, and opened a path to multicentered circuit forms of organizing knowledge (Sorensen in Sorensen and Bhabha). Burke stresses that culture and knowledge have traveled for centuries through complex forms of mobility. However, the politico-cultural redefinition of territories has grown exponentially during the 20th century. Certainly, as critical theorist Homi Bhabha notes, "Mobility changes the *scale* of inquiry and interpretation by introducing new speeds of digital communication and enlarged measures of global convergence" (Sorensen and Bhabha 8). Nonetheless, literary scholar Felice Blake reminds

us that, “It isn’t enough to include texts by historically aggrieved populations in the curriculum and classroom without producing new approaches to reading” (309).

This ultimately illustrates the critical analysis that different interdisciplinary fields, such as border studies, decolonial thought and theory of the body, have developed about the embodied poetics governing Southern Cone exile, human rights and memory, especially related to post-dictatorship assumptions. Peri Rossi, Moyano and Balmes have created discourses that re-enact the experience of exile by focusing on fragmentation, subjectivity, displacement, evasiveness, and fractured syntax or visualization. Interdisciplinarity frameworks and exile arts and literature changed the very conception of visual arts and literary studies, producing new approaches to texts made in the midst of turbulent times. This is because, as Blake underlines, “We cannot separate critical analysis from social movements” (319).

After a period of instability and terror—like that experienced by a society under a dictatorship—the politics of memory allow us to decipher from the past the holes left by what has been taken away: bodies, ideologies, alternative repertoires, artistic and intellectual diversity. As Nelly Richard has noted, the truncated signals—those that have been expelled from the centers of knowledge production—rise to the surface and reclaim a space in the incomplete history. The voices that were silenced by political violence or forced displacement from the Southern Cone reencounter visibility, not only through the testimonials of victims during the trials of the juntas, but also through artistic and literary representations—as intensive symbolizations—of that past which is incomplete, dynamic and open. As can be seen in this study, the aesthetic representation of exile allows us to reflect on the configuration of the nomadic subject as a human condition and of the body as a continuous process. Subjectivities are interrogated and transformed during the journey.

Bodies in transit also reveal *processes*: processes of being, thinking, and creating, so exile also problematizes the representation of language—visual and written—in forms of thinking, feeling and perception.

As critics Gastón Galaz and Pastor Mellado have stated, this crisis of representation is not trivial. It could be described as part of a criticism of the breakdown of the official political and aesthetic repertoire caused by the totalitarian regimes in the Southern Cone. In this way, the poetic voice of Peri Rossi seeks the word in the body of the *other*, another feminine lover who is also multiple. The love affair and the voyage reveal subjects that are, simultaneously, poetry, memory, ship and refuge. In the case of Moyano, the processes of representation are revealed in the narrative framework of a *draft* of a novel; in the character of Rolando seeking the musicality of the sea; in the group of friends writing pieces of metatheatre; and in Contardi and his aesthetic and ethical reflections that stem from the painful absence of his son. For Balmes, meanwhile, the versatility of collage is the medium that enables him to achieve this multidimensional and self-reflective representation of the languages he chooses. The artist makes visible his passage through the artwork in order to record the representation of the representation, that is, the performance of the archive.

The symbolic potency of these representations by Peri Rossi, Moyano and Balmes elevates collective voices that denounce direct repression of the human body while allowing us to see the participation of deeply rooted discourses and of institutions that naturalize forms of violence against—and subjugation of—marginalized subjectivities. An approach to exile from the foundations of feminism, border studies and contemporary discussions on human mobility also permit new readings, oppositions and reconciliations for imagining a different kind of intellectual activity, one that occurs on the margins of knowledge, the canon and the nation (the imagined nation and the nation as territory).

As I have considered in these pages, the study of historically *minoritized* identities allows us to see how different power systems (including the gender system) regulate and manifest themselves in interpersonal relationships. In this sense, the issue of exile is connected to discriminatory policies towards certain identities and subjectivities, policies that authorize the forced displacement of specific bodies from centers of knowledge production. The matter of exile is also linked to the administration of citizenship because, by losing the right to live in their country of origin, the subject is displaced from the centers of public and private life, and from the tangible and intangible repertoires of nationality. In addition, with no state to provide protection and recognition, the subject is exposed to extreme vulnerability. As this study reveals, subjectivity, corporeality, humanity and citizenship are closely linked to issues of contemporary nomadism. This is particularly true from the mid-20th century onwards, since Western categories have been those used to provide visibility and authority to voices, or to deny them a place in the world.

The instability in the lives of Peri Rossi, Moyano and Balmes as displaced subjects marginalized their outputs during their first years in exile. They wrote and painted *from* a border-location, not merely *about* it. They caused a nuisance in political terms to the military juntas, as well as in cultural terms to their national canons and academic curricula which focused on hegemonic narratives. It is not surprising that their works had very little circulation even in their *hostland*, since they were banned in their homelands. For instance, when Peri Rossi fled Uruguay and arrived in Barcelona in 1972, Spain was still under Francoist censorship laws, and she had to cross into France every three months to renew her temporary entry papers. While Moyano's books were being burned in Argentina, he was working in a factory with a precarious salary in Spain, unable to write for five years after the trauma of the mock execution he suffered while he was imprisoned in La Rioja, Argentina,

in 1976. In contrast, Balmes was hired by the University of Paris a few months after arriving in France in 1973, and he and his wife, Gracia Barrios, were very active muralists during their exile in several European cities. He was allowed to return to Santiago under the protection of a UNESCO program, although he was never reinstated in the University of Chile, his alma mater, since it was taken over by the military dictatorship. I have explored the works of these writers and artists and accounted for their experiences as disenfranchised subjects whose works remained understudied for many years even after the end of the dictatorships and the return of democracy—largely due to the fact that the same dominant narratives and similar levels of political and economic repression prevailed, even after the Hispanic world developed a different cultural and political climate.

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